Class | Accession

977.5 W753:1 63 | 105518

NOT TO BE TAKEN FROM THE LIBRARY

Form No. 64—5M.—12-6-12 19

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2025

https://archive.org/details/bwb_S0-BTN-810

Publications

OF THE

State Historical Society
of Wisconsin

Edited by

Milo M. Quaife

Superintendent of the Society

Wisconsin Historical Publications

Proceedings of the Society

1915

Publications of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

Proceedings of the Society

AT ITS

Sixty-Third Annual Meeting

Held October 21, 1915

Madison
Published by the Society
1916

Published by Authority of Law

1,500 COPIES PRINTED

The Society as a body is not responsible for statements or opinions advanced in the following pages by contributors

*977.5
W753:1 63
105518

STATE PUBLIC LIBRARY

CANTWELL PRINTING CO., MADISON, STATE PRINTER

Contents

Page

Officers, 1915–16 9

Committees 10

Library Staff 11

Proceedings of Sixty-Third Annual Meeting:
- Business session 13
- Executive Committee meeting 14
- Open session 18

APPENDIX

Report of Executive Committee:
- Summary 20
- Financial statement:
  - State appropriations 21
  - Private funds 22
- The Library and Museum:
  - Staff 24
  - Building and grounds 24
  - Growth of the Library 25
  - Newspaper division 27
  - Catalogue division 28
  - Order division 29
  - Map, Manuscript, and Illustration division . . . 30
  - Work in the Washington and St. Louis archives . . 37
  - Repair of manuscripts 41
  - The Museum 42
  - Research and Publication division 48
  - Future expansion 52

Treasurer's Report 55

Contents

REPORTS OF AUXILIARY SOCIETIES:

Green Bay Historical Society 59
Lafayette County Historical Society 62
Sauk County Historical Society 62
Superior Historical Society 64
Trempealeau County Historical Society, 1914, 1915 . . 65
Walworth County Historical Society 68
Waukesha County Historical Society 69

HISTORICAL PAPERS:

The President of the United States, by Gaillard Hunt . . 76
The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County, by William F. Whyte 99
Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau:
I. Archeological Sketch, by Eben D. Pierce . . . 111
II. Additional Archeological Details, by George H. Squier . 113
III. Historical Sketch, by Louise Phelps Kellogg . . 117
Chicago's First Great Lawsuit, by Eugene E. Prussing . . 124
A Forgotten Community: A Record of Rock Island, the Threshold of Wisconsin, by Hjalmar R. Holand 140
British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782–92: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State, by Orpha E. Leavitt . . . 151
Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal—and Others, edited with introduction and notes by Milo M. Quaife . . . 186

INDEX TO HISTORICAL PAPERS 213

Illustrations

	Page
Portrait of Gaillard Hunt	*Frontispiece*
The Pioneer Drug Store	42
Portrait of Albert Clayton Beckwith	59
The Cushing Monument	71
The Old French Post near Trempealeau. From an idealized sketch by Mrs. Hettie M. Pierce	111
La Montagne qui Trempe à l'Eau; as seen from Brady's Peak	121
Outline map of region of proposed barrier state	151
Sandy Lake (text cut)	205
Elk Lake (text cut)	207

Officers, 1915-16

President

Hon. Emil Baensch	Manitowoc

Vice-Presidents

Hon. John A. Aylward, LL. B.	Madison
Hon. John Luchsinger	Monroe
Hon. B. F. McMillan	McMillan
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer	Milwaukee
Hon. William J. Starr, LL. B.	Eau Claire
Hon. John B. Winslow, LL. D.	Madison

Superintendent

M. M. Quaife, Ph. D.	Madison

Treasurer

Hon. Lucien S. Hanks	Madison

Curators, Ex Officio

Hon. Emanuel L. Philipp	Governor
Hon. John S. Donald	Secretary of State
Hon. Henry Johnson	State Treasurer

Curators, Elective

(Term expires at annual meeting in 1916)

John A. Aylward, LL. B.
Victor Coffin, Ph. D.
Lucius C. Colman, B. A.
Matthew S. Dudgeon, M. A.
Carl R. Fish, Ph. D.
Benjamin F. McMillan, Esq.
William A. P. Morris, B. A.
Samuel M. Pedrick, LL. B.
Robert G. Siebecker, LL. B.
William J. Starr, LL. B.
Edward B. Steensland, Esq.
Charles R. Van Hise, LL. D.

Officers of the Society, 1915-16

(Term expires at annual meeting in 1917)

Rasmus B. Anderson, LL. D.
Emil Baensch, Esq.
Charles N. Brown, LL. B.
Harry E. Cole, Ph. B.
Frederic K. Conover, LL. B.
John Luchsinger, Esq.
Most Rev. S. G. Messmer
J. Howard Palmer, Esq.
Barton L. Parker, LL. B.
John B. Parkinson, M. A.
Frederic L. Paxson, Ph. D.
William A. Scott, LL. D.

(Term expires at annual meeting in 1918)

Thomas E. Brittingham, Esq.
Henry C. Campbell, Esq.
William K. Coffin, M. S.
Richard T. Ely, LL. D.
Lucien S. Hanks, Esq.
Nils P. Haugen, LL. B.
Col. Hiram Hayes
Rev. Patrick B. Knox
Maj. Frank W. Oakley
Arthur L. Sanborn, LL. B.
E. Ray Stevens, LL. B.
William W. Wight, M. A.

Executive Committee

The thirty-six Curators, the Superintendent, the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the State Treasurer (forty in all) constitute the Executive Committee.

Standing Committees (of Executive Committee)

Library—Knox (chairman), Brown, Dudgeon, Sanborn, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Art Gallery and Museum—Scott (chairman), Conover, Cole, Oakley, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Printing and Publications—Fish (chairman), Paxson, Wight, Stevens, and Superintendent (ex officio).

Finance—Morris (chairman), Palmer, Steensland, W. K. Coffin, and Brittingham.

Advisory Committee (ex officio)—Knox, Scott, Fish, and Morris.

Special Committees (of the Society)

Relations with State University—Quaife (chairman), Haugen, Aylward, Siebecker, and Palmer.

Archives—Fish (chairman), Steensland, Brandenburg, and Superintendent (ex officio).

The Library Staff

Superintendent

M. M. Quaife, Ph. D.

Assistant Superintendent

Annie Amelia Nunns, B. A.

In charge of Divisions

(In order of seniority of service)

Mary Stuart Foster, B. L.	—*Reference*
Iva Alice Welsh, B. L.	—*Catalogue*
Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D.	—*Research*
Charles Edward Brown	—*Museum*
Lillian Jane Beecroft, B. L.	—*Newspaper*
Mabel Clare Weaks, M. A.	—*Manuscript*
Anna Wells Evans	—*Public Document*
Ora Ioneene Smith, B. A.	—*Order*

Assistants

(In order of seniority of service)

Anna Jacobsen, B. L.	—*Catalogue*
Edna Couper Adams, B. L.	—*Reference*
Eleanore Eunice Lothrop, B. A.	—*Superintendent's Secretary*
Frederick Merk, B. A.	—*Research*
Robert Berigan	—*Manuscript Repair*
Esther DeBoos, B. A.	—*Reference*
Florence Elizabeth Dunton, B. A.	—*Catalogue*
Helen Leonard Gilman, B. A.	—*Museum*
Pauline Merry Buell, B. A.	—*Reference*
Ella V. Ryan	—*Public Document*
John Kaether	—*Newspaper*
Josephine Allyn, B. A.	—*Reference*
Marjorie Gertrude Park, B. A.	—*Order*
Ferne Lina Congdon, B. A.	—*Manuscript*
Caroline Margaret Lewis, B. A.	—*Reference*
Theron Adelbert Brown	—*Public Document*
Mary Margaret Farley, B. A.	—*Office*
Kate Schoolfield Tillett, M. A.	—*Reference*
Lydia Marie Brauer, B. A.	—*Research*

Library Staff

Care Takers

(Under State civil service law)

Magnus Nelson	—*Head Janitor and Mechanic*
Irving Robson, Martin Lyons, Walter G. Post	—*Assistant Janitors*
Bennie Butts	—*Office Messenger*
Tillie Gunkel	—*Housekeeper*
Barbara Brisbois, Gertrude Nelson, Louise Jenewein, Bertha Schwoegler, Emma Zehnpfennig	—*Housemaids*
Fred Kowalski	—*Elevator Attendant*
Lillian Jenewein, Ida Steffen, Thomas Goodnight, S. D. Stephens	—*Cloak Room Attendants*

Library Hours

General Library—Daily, except Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and University vacations; 7:45 A. M. to 10 P. M.
Saturdays: 7:45 A. M. to 9 P. M.
Holidays and University vacations; as per special announcement.

Department Libraries:
Manuscript, and Newspaper Divisions—Daily, with above exceptions, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Public Document Division—Same hours as the general library except that the closing hour during the summer session of the University is 6 P. M.

Museum—Daily, except Sundays and holidays, 9 A. M. to 5 P. M.
Sundays, holidays, and evenings, as per special announcement.

The Sixty-Third Annual Meeting[1]

Thursday, October 21, 1915

The business session of the sixty-third annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was held in the staff room of the State Historical Library Building at Madison, on Thursday afternoon, October 21, 1915, commencing at four o'clock; an open session was held the same evening in the new assembly room, commencing at eight o'clock. In the afternoon the Executive Committee also held its annual meeting.

Business Session

President Baensch took the chair at four o'clock in the afternoon.

Present: Messrs. R. B. Anderson, Emil Baensch, A. O. Barton, C. N. Brown, C. E. Buell, H. E. Cole, F. K. Conover, J. N. Davidson, R. G. Deming, C. R. Fish, L. S. Hanks, D. G. James, P. B. Knox, Edward Kremers, J. H. A. Lacher, W. A. P. Morris, J. H. Palmer, J. B. Parkinson, F. L. Paxson, B. T. Rogers, W. A. Scott, W. M. Smith, Edward Steensland, E. R. Stevens, and W. F. Whyte—25.

Official Reports

The superintendent, on behalf of the Executive Committee, submitted its annual report, which was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Acting upon the superintendent's explanatory comment upon that portion of the annual report which pertains to the subject

[1] The report of the proceedings here published is condensed from the official Ms. records of the Society.

of the archives situation in Wisconsin, Rev. B. T. Rogers presented the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That this annual meeting recommend to the curators to appoint a special committee to take up the matter of the State archives.

Chairman Morris of the Committee on Finance, presented the report of his committee, approving the report of Treasurer L. S. Hanks for the year ending June 30, 1915. The report was adopted. (See Appendix for text.)

Reports of Auxiliaries

Annual reports were received from the Society's several auxiliary societies, and they were ordered printed in the *Proceedings*. (See Appendix for text.)

Curators Elected

Messrs. W. M. Smith, C. N. Brown, and H. E. Cole were appointed a committee on the nomination of curators and reported in favor of the following, who were unanimously elected:

For the term ending at the annual meeting in 1916 to succeed Dana C. Munro, removed to Princeton, N. J., S. M. Pedrick, of Ripon.

For the term ending at the annual meeting in 1917, to succeed Burr W. Jones, resigned, Barton L. Parker, of Green Bay.

For the term ending at the annual meeting in 1918, Henry C. Campbell, of Milwaukee; William K. Coffin, of Eau Claire; Hiram Hayes, of Superior; William W. Wight, of Milwaukee; and Thomas E. Brittingham, Richard T. Ely, Lucien S. Hanks, Nils P. Haugen, Patrick B. Knox, Frank W. Oakley, E. Ray Stevens, and Arthur L. Sanborn, of Madison.

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Executive Committee Meeting

Thursday, October 21, 1915

The annual meeting of the Executive Committee was held in the staff room in the afternoon, succeeding the Society's meeting.

President Baensch took the chair.

Present: Messrs. Anderson, Baensch, Brown, Cole, Fish, Hanks, Knox, Morris, Palmer, Parkinson, Paxson, Smith, Steensland, and Stevens—14.

Messrs. Smith, Cole, and Brown were appointed a committee on the nomination of a vice-president to succeed Burr W. Jones, resigned, and reported in favor of John A. Aylward, who was unanimously elected.

Thwaites Portrait Committee

Chairman Fish of the Portrait Committee reported that a portrait of Doctor Thwaites had been secured and hung on the walls of the Society, and had been paid for from subscriptions received from the members of the Society, supplemented by the funds of the Society. It was voted to discharge the committee and that the thanks of the Society be extended to it.

Committee on Exchanges

Chairman Steensland of the Exchange of Documents Committee, appointed to deal with the matter of exchange of documents, reported that the committee had given a good deal of attention to the matter in coöperation with the superintendent of the Society and submitted the following report:

The committee has failed to make any impression on the authorities of the State Library, and the matter of exchanges is in exactly the same situation as it was a year ago. In other words the committee has failed to make any favorable progress. Upon the request of the chairman it was voted that the committee be discharged.

The written report of the chairman of the committee is entered in full upon the records of the Society. At the request of the superintendent his initial report to the committee, outlining the history of the situation in Wisconsin with respect to the exchange of public documents and the present difficulties under which the Society labors in this connection, is also entered upon the records of the Society.

Committee on Building of Northwest Wing

In the absence of Professor Munro, chairman of the committee, a verbal report was made by Prof. W. M. Smith, secretary,

showing that the work which the committee had been created to supervise has been brought to a practical conclusion. It was voted, therefore, that the committee be discharged.

New Members Elected

It was moved and carried that the elections of the following persons to membership be confirmed:

Life

Madison—Mary F. Carpenter.
Shullsburg—Mrs. Emma H. White.
Chicago, Ill.—Matthias R. Ludowise.

Institutional

Edmonton, Alberta—Provincial Library of Alberta.

Annual

Durand—Kathern K. Brainard.
Janesville—Edwin P. Wilcox.
La Crosse—Helen Dorset.
Madison—Arthur Peabody, Harold S. Stafford.
Milwaukee—James Sawyer.
Chicago, Ill.—Robert M. King.
Walloon Lake, Mich.—Henry McConnall.

The superintendent submitted the following resolution, relative to the Thwaites bequest, which was unanimously adopted:

Whereas, the Society's late superintendent, Dr. Reuben Gold Thwaites, bequeathed to it the sum of $10,000, which sum has now been paid into the treasury of the Society, and

Whereas, the testator, who was more fully conversant with the work and needs of the Society than anyone else, saw fit to leave this sum to it entirely free from direction as to how it should be used,

Resolved, that the following be added to the existing by-laws of the Society as section 17, present sections 17, 18, 19, and 20 being renumbered accordingly: There shall be a perpetual special fund, to be known as the Reuben Gold Thwaites Fund; the principal of said fund, to consist of the sum bequeathed to the Society by Mr. Thwaites, shall be kept intact; the income from said fund shall be used to promote the work and interests of the Society in such ways as may from time to time seem advisable.

The superintendent offered the following amendment to the by-laws of the Society, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that section 7 of the by-laws of the Society be amended by striking from the last paragraph, as printed in Bulletin of Information No. 66, the words "not exceeding fifty dollars in any one year."

Judge E. Ray Stevens offered the following resolution, and amendment to the by-laws of the Society, which was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, that section 5 of the by-laws of the Wisconsin Historical Society be amended so as to read:

Section 5. The chairmen of the four standing committees shall together with the superintendent constitute the advisory committee, which shall meet on call of its chairman or of the superintendent at least as often as once in every three months, to confer with the superintendent as to the administration of those ministerial or executive affairs of the Society which are entrusted to the charge of the superintendent. As to such ministerial or executive affairs said advisory committee shall possess and exercise all the powers of the executive committee. Said advisory committee shall report all action taken by it to the next succeeding meeting of the executive committee for its approval or revision. Said committee may from time to time make report to the executive committee, with such recommendations as may to it seem proper.

The chairman appointed the following committees to act as standing committees of the Executive Committee:

1. Library:
   Knox, chairman, Brown, Dudgeon, Sanborn.
2. Art Gallery and Museum:
   Scott, chairman, Conover, Cole, Oakley.
3. Publications:
   Fish, chairman, Paxson, Wight, Stevens.
4. Finance:
   Morris, chairman, Palmer, Steensland, W. K. Coffin, Brittingham.

The chairman appointed the following special committees of the Society:

1. Relations with State University:
   Quaife, chairman, Haugen, Aylward, Siebecker, Palmer.
2. Archives:
   Fish, chairman, Steensland, Brandenburg, and Superintendent (ex officio).

The meeting thereupon stood adjourned.

Open Session

The open session of the Society was held in the Museum assembly room commencing at 8 P. M., with Vice-President Jones in the chair.

The following papers were presented by title and ordered to be printed in the *Proceedings* for the year:

The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County, by William F. Whyte, M. D., of Madison.

Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau:

1. Archeological Sketch; Eben D. Pierce, M. D., of Trempealeau.
2. Additional Archeological Details; George H. Squier, of Trempealeau.
3. Historical Sketch; Louise Phelps Kellogg, Ph. D., Research Assistant, Wisconsin Historical Society.

Chicago's First Great Lawsuit, by Eugene E. Prussing, of Chicago.

A Forgotten Community: A Record of Rock Island, the Threshold of Wisconsin, by Hjalmar R. Holand, of Ephraim.

British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782–92: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State, by Orpha E. Leavitt, of Madison.

"Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal—and Others," with an introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife, Superintendent, Wisconsin Historical Society.

The chairman then presented the speaker of the evening, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief, division of manuscripts, Library of Congress (temporarily head of the bureau of citizenship, State Department), who delivered an address on "The President of the United States." (See Appendix for text.) As on the similar occasion a year ago, added interest attached to the address by reason of its bearing upon important contemporary domestic problems of our country.

At the conclusion of Doctor Hunt's address an informal reception was tendered by the Society's staff to those in attendance upon the meeting. Punch was served by the ladies, and an opportunity for social intercourse, and for viewing the Museum collections, was afforded.

Appendix

Executive Committee's Report

(Submitted to the Society at the sixty-third annual meeting, October 21, 1915.)

The financial sections of the report herewith submitted pertain to the fiscal year of the Society which ended June 30, 1915; for the rest the report deals with the activities of the Society for the year ending September 30, 1915.

Summary

The membership of the Society totals 673, divided into 417 annual and 256 life members. These figures show a decrease of 80 annual and 4 life members as compared with September 30, 1914. This marked decrease in the membership roll is due to the fact that in accordance with the mandate of the constitution the list has been purged of the names of a large number of persons who had permitted their membership to become forfeited through nonpayment of dues. Four new annual members, one institutional, and one life member have been gained during the year, while ten members have been claimed by death.

The private funds of the Society now amount to $102,688.27, as against $85,970.57 one year ago; the gain made during the year is, therefore, $16,717.70. Of this amount $4,119.41 represents unexpended income of the funds for the preceding year, and the remainder payments on the principal of the House, Thwaites, and Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister bequests.

The year has witnessed the addition of 12,000 titles to the Library; of this amount 6,213 are classified as books, 5,054 as pamphlets, and 733 as maps and engravings. The total number of titles in the Library is now 386,588, classified as 191,047 books, and 195,541 pamphlets. The accessions to the manuscript collection have been numerous and notable; a somewhat

detailed description of the more important accessions is given in the appropriate section of the report. In addition the Society's collection of newspapers has gained 857 bound volumes.

The Society's important list of publications has been increased by the addition of three new volumes. A regular division for the repair and mounting of manuscripts has been founded. Extensive repairs to the building, including a new roof for the main structure and southwest wing, have been made.

Financial Statement

State Appropriations

During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1915, the Society received from the State $62,753 in direct standing appropriations made under section 172.28 of the statutes. Of this sum, $54,353 was granted for administrative and operating expenses, under subsection 1; $200 under subsection 3, for property repairs; and $8,200 under subsection 4, for books, furniture, and permanent accessions.

The following statement shows the condition of these funds on July 1, 1915:

SUBSECTION 1

RECEIPTS

Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1914	$9,442.78
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1915	54,353.00
From Wisconsin History Commission, on account of editing, etc. of its publications	1,550.00
From University of Wisconsin, balance due on joint account	1,680.72
From Wisconsin History Commission, on being absorbed by Society	52.94
Total	$67,079.44

Disbursements		
Services	$39,188.55	
Traveling expenses	475.21	
Supplies	1,649.11	
Printing and illustration	2,088.46	
Postage	779.02	
Typewriters	180.00	
Telegraph	3.05	
Freight and drayage	161.15	
Express	185.31	
Books, furniture, etc.	4,816.83	
Property repairs	3,113.59	
Insurance, June 30, 1915	3,404.70	$56,044.98
Unexpended balance in State treasury, July 1, 1915		11,034.46
		$67,079.44

Subsection 3

Receipts	
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1915	$200.00
Disbursements	
Property repairs	200.00

Subsection 4

Receipts		
State appropriation for year ending June 30, 1915		$8,200.00
Disbursements		
Books, periodicals, furniture, and Museum exhibits	$5,649.87	
Binding	2,550.13	
		$8,200.00

Private Funds

The increase in these funds over their amount a year ago is the greatest in the history of the Society, being practically one-sixth of the present total amount of the private funds. This gratifying growth is ascribable in part to the fact that the greater portion of the preceding year's income was added to the principal of the funds; in greater degree, however, to the reception by the Society of the Thwaites bequest ($10,023.29), the House bequest ($500), and a payment of $2,000 on the principal of the Mrs. Kittie E. V. Hollister bequest. The estate of Colonel Hollister, whose bequest, like that of his wife, goes to the estab-

lishment of the Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund, is still in process of settlement. A year ago the superintendent (one of the executors of the estate) reported that it seemed unlikely anything would be realized from it for the Society. It is gratifying to be able now to report that the aspect of affairs has so improved during the year that it seems certain several thousand dollars will be realized.

Nothing has as yet been done with four special funds of the Society which are now available for use. The special book fund for the purchase of far-western newspapers awaits a suitable opportunity for conducting the quest that will be necessary. In view of the status of affairs in Europe, and of the smallness of the sum as yet available, no effort has been made to carry out the plan formulated for the initiation of the Hollister pharmaceutical library. A sketch of the plan contemplated is contained in the last annual report of the Executive Committee. Lack of time to devote to the subject has been responsible for the omission to formulate plans for carrying out the trust imposed by the House bequest. The Thwaites bequest comes to the Society absolutely free from restrictions or direction concerning its use. A decision by the Society upon this point, therefore, is now in order.

Reference is made to previous reports for a description of the various permanent funds of the Society. Below is given a tabular statement of the amount of each a year ago, the increase or decrease for the year, and the amount at the present time:

Fund	1913–14	Increase	1914–15
General and Binding Fund	$38,283.03	$1,039.34	$39,322.37
Antiquarian Fund	18,468.61	1,496.18	19,964.79
Draper Fund	12,115.62	616.74	12,732.36
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	5,232.81	196.23	5,429.04
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	1,660.90	77.07	1,737.97
Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund	8,979.45	2,518.16	11,497.61
R. G. Thwaites Bequest	. . .	. . .	10,264.14
Emily House Bequest	. . .	. . .	519.49
		Decrease	
Special Book Fund	1,218.61	2.90	1,215.71
Entertainment Fund	11.29	6.50	4.79

The Library and Museum

The Staff

The usual number of changes has taken place in the membership and organization of the working force. Iva A. Welsh, head of the catalogue division, has been on leave of absence since July 1, 1915. She is expected to resume active work in January, 1916. Olive M. Simpson and Hester Harper, employed in the reference division, resigned at the close of the fiscal year to enter upon new vocations. Robert Berigan, who for several years has been employed in the document division, was transferred to the new repair-of-manuscripts section. Regular new employees engaged to provide for these changes and for the ever-growing work of the Library are Theron Brown in the document division, Mary Farley, Kate S. Tillett, and Carrie Lewis in the reference division, and Lydia Brauer in the research and publication division.

During the year, also, several persons have been temporarily employed from time to time to perform special work for which members of the regular staff were not available. Because of the growth of the manuscript collection Katherine Gallagher and J. W. Gilman were employed during the summer months in classifying and arranging the Civil War and the E. W. Keyes collections. The work of copying Wisconsin manuscripts at Washington was placed under the general direction of Dr. Newton D. Mereness, and such clerical assistance was granted him as economy of administration seemed to render advisable.

The principal changes in the caretakers' staff have been the resignation of Mary Schmelzer, housemaid, Walter Sargent, elevator operator, and Paul N. Brown, night cloakroom attendant; and the appointment of Louise Jenewein as housemaid, Lillian Jenewein as cloakroom attendant, and Fred Kowalski as elevator operator.

The Building and Grounds

The cost of the Library building is $770,000. The main portion of it is now fifteen years old. For the last two years the legislature has allowed the Society $200 annually for prop-

erty repairs. The utter inadequacy of this sum, ¼ of a mill on the cost of the building, to keep it in a proper state of repair, is so obvious as to require no demonstration. Reference to the financial section of the report will show that it was necessary to supplement the special appropriation for property repairs by drawing on the general appropriation for the sum of $3,113.59. The amount expended under this head was, however, considerably larger than the annual expenditure may ordinarily be expected to be. Two items account for slightly more than half of it. The walks and steps around the building, which for years had been in bad condition, were renewed at a cost of $491.64; and the roof and skylights on the main building and south stack wing were renewed at a cost of $1,430. The roof is guaranteed for a period of twelve years, and the walks should last as long or longer than this; when their renewal shall again be necessary it should be possible so to administer matters that the two items need not be included in the budget of the same year. A considerable portion of the remaining items of expenditure on the building had to do with the general overhauling to which it was subjected in connection with the building of the northwest stack wing, such changes as the legislative appropriation for that purpose did not suffice to pay for being charged to the current appropriation. The principal of these charges pertained to the installation of the drug store and colonial kitchen in the Museum, masonry repairs in the basement and elsewhere, the subdividing of the old third-floor auditorium into offices, and the lettering of card trays in the catalogue division. For the present biennium the legislature has recognized the reasonableness of the superintendent's argument for an increased appropriation for property maintenance, the sum allowed being $780 instead of $200 annually.

The Growth of the Library

Statistics of Accession

Following is a summary of Library accessions for the year ending September 30, 1915:

Books purchased (including exchanges)	2,685	
Books by gift	3,528	
Total books		6,213

Pamphlets by gift	4,084	
Pamphlets purchased (including exchanges)	570	
Pamphlets made from newspaper clippings	400	
Total pamphlets		5,054
Engravings, photographs, and maps purchased	240	
Engravings, photographs, and maps by gift	493	
Total engravings, photographs, and maps		733
Total accessions of titles		12,000
Present (estimated) strength of the Library:		
Books		191,047
Pamphlets		195,541
Total number of titles (books and pamphlets)		386,588

Comparative statistics of gifts and purchases:	1914	1915
Total accessions	10,934	12,000
Percentage of gifts in accessions	73	70
Percentage of purchases (including exchanges) in accessions	27	30
Books given	4,889	6,360
Pamphlets given	7,333	6,110
Engravings, photographs, and maps given	157	493
Total gifts (including duplicates, which are not accessioned)	12,379	12,993
Percentage of gifts that were duplicates	35	38
Percentage of gifts that were accessions	65	62

Another year should bring the number of titles in the Library very close to the 400,000 mark. Impressive as this sounds, and gratifying as it will be to all friends of the Society to see this goal passed, there is another viewpoint from which the situation appears distinctly less gratifying. In the last ten years the number of accessions of titles annually to the Library's collections has remained practically stationary, while relative to the total size of the collections that of the annual accessions has steadily diminished. Ten years ago the annual appropriation by the State for the purchase of books was $5,000, while the binding of the Society was done off its budget as an allowance. After years of pleading on the part of the late superintendent the appropriation for books, binding, and furniture was finally set at the present figure of $8,200. Since the annual binding bill is about $3,000, it will be seen that the Society's

book appropriation remains at practically the figure it was ten years ago. No one who possesses any familiarity with the book market, however, need be told that the actual purchasing power of $5,000 today is markedly less than it was a decade ago. Actually, therefore, the book-purchasing appropriation is less than it was ten years earlier, while both the Library itself and its constituency is much larger. This situation is relieved for the present by the fact that for the last two years money has been available from the general appropriation for the purchase of books. This source of assistance can scarcely be depended upon permanently, however, and it is to be hoped that ere long a reasonable increase in the book appropriation may be had.

In considering the accession statistics it should be borne in mind that the manuscript collection, which together with the newspaper collection is the most unique and distinctive portion of the Library, has enjoyed unusual growth during the year, and that this growth is not included in the figures given.

Newspaper Division

The demand for room, prior to the completion of the northwest stack wing, necessitated the utilization of the open spaces between the basement stacks as reading and study quarters for students. This practice was objectionable both from the viewpoint of effective administration of the Library and that of the comfort and convenience of the student. With the acquisition of the present quarters on the first floor for the reading and workroom of the newspaper division, it has become possible to prohibit students from going to the basement. Wholly desirable as it is, this change throws considerable more work upon the Library staff, since it necessitates bringing from the basement stacks to the first-floor reading room all the newspapers desired for consultation.

The growth of the newspaper collection has been satisfactory on the whole. The number of newspapers and periodicals currently received during the year was 586; of this total 303 were Wisconsin newspapers, 175 were papers from outside the State, and 108 were trade journals and other publications.

The year's increase in bound volumes of newspapers was 857. Over one-half the total, 462, came as gifts to the Library, all the

current Wisconsin newspapers and most of those from without the State being donated. Of the remainder 34 volumes were procured as the result of an exchange of duplicates with the Minnesota Historical Society, and 361 were purchased.

The Society's collection of newspapers is supposed to be the largest in the United States with the single exception of the one in the Library of Congress. In view of the immense difficulty of building up anew such a collection, with the continuance of reasonable support at the hands of the State this rank should be easily retained. Of the files acquired during the year easily the rarest is the Georgia *Gazette*, 1763–70. But one complete file of this journal is known to be in existence. Through the enterprise of the Massachusetts Historical Society some half dozen photostat copies of the entire file are being made, and one of these comes to our Society. Among the other more noteworthy accessions are the following:

London *Guardian*, 102 vols., 1852–1910.
——— *Middlesex Journal and Evening Advertiser*, 2 vols., 1774–76.
——— *Packet*, 1 vol., 1801–2.
——— *Champion*, 1 vol., 1815.
Richmond (Va.) *Dispatch*, 16 vols., 1880–95.
Ogle County (Ill.) *Press*, 16 vols., 1871–1901.
Duluth (Minn.) *News Tribune*, 19 vols., 1893–99.
——— *Daily News*, 6 vols., 1890–92.
Shanghai (China) *Shanghaier Nachrichten*, 2 vols., 1907–12.
——— *Ostasiatische Lloyd*, 10 vols., 1906–12.
Georgetown (D. C.) *Federal Republican*, 1 vol., 1812–13.
Baltimore *Sun*, 2 vols., 1864–65.
Cincinnati *Daily News*, 3 vols., 1839–40.
Wabasha County (Minn.) *Sentinel*, 6 vols., 1851–55 and 1871–80.

Catalogue Division

The same force has been maintained in the catalogue division as in the preceding year, with the exception of Ferne Congdon, who was appointed last November in place of Dorothy Ely, resigned. Iva A. Welsh, head of the division, was granted a six-month leave of absence, beginning July 1.

In addition to the classifying and cataloguing of current accessions, much work has been done on various special collections. Provision was made for classifying the Tank collection, which

has been in the possession of the Society many years, and the services of Hester Coddington, head cataloguer of the University Library, were procured to superintend the work. This library, collected by a Dutch clergyman in the early nineteenth century, consists of approximately 5,000 volumes, with a large percentage in Dutch. Over 800 volumes have now been catalogued and are ready for the shelves.

In the document division the analytical cataloguing of the collected State documents has been completed and the cataloguing of the House and Senate journals is still in progress.

One assistant has devoted her time since the first of March to the map and manuscript division. Her principal work has been reclassifying, shelf-listing, and recataloguing the map collection. The old scheme of classification has been modified somewhat, the cataloguing made more uniform and accurate, and the form of entry simplified. About 700 maps have been recatalogued. She has also classified and arranged a large accumulation of pictures and made subject cards for the catalogue, which serve as an index to the collection.

A year ago plans were made for the compilation for publication of a list of serials in the libraries of Madison and in preparation for this publication the listing of all periodical publications in the Historical Library was commenced. It is hoped that this preliminary work will be completed early in the coming year.

Order Division

The ordinary patron of a library, who has placed before him in a moment any one of scores of thousands of volumes, maps, or pictures he may choose to call for, has little conception of the amount of work which must be done by the Library staff to make such service possible. The labor merely of selecting and procuring the desired accessions to the Library's collections and keeping the necessary records in connection with their acquisition is a task of no mean proportions. Three years ago this branch of the Society's work was systematized by the creation of a division of orders and supplies. With this development the new division was made responsible for the ordering of books and periodicals, and supplies used in the work of the Library and in the care of the building and grounds, as well as the acknowl-

edging, recording, and accessioning of gifts. The principal change made in the keeping of the records was in the method of ordering and accessioning. Instead of orders by letter, with carbon copies of the letters kept in the letter file, numbered order sheets are now used and the carbon copies kept in regular numerical order in an order book. In connection with this change, the assignment of accession numbers to the books, with the attendant labor of entering each volume in the record of accessions, was given up, and instead, the number of the order is written in the book. For gifts a similar method is used, the name of the donor being used in place of the order number.

The chief of the division has had during the past year, one part-time assistant, not enough help to keep up with the needs of the Library, since there is a constant stream of new publications, particularly state and city documents, which must be asked for by personal or circular letter. Besides going over the official lists of such publications and seeking to obtain those that are needed, the division checks many secondhand catalogues, bibliographies, and lists appearing in the historical and genealogical magazines, that the rare, or privately printed, or obscure book or pamphlet may be obtained and added to the Library. The statistics of accessions show the result of the year's work.

Map, Manuscript, and Illustration Division

Administration

Unusual progress has been made in the upbuilding of this division since the last annual report. That report described the clearing of Room 105 of books, in order that it might serve in future the purposes of a manuscript stack room. To permit the more efficient administration of the work of the division the chief has been given since November, 1914, the half-time assistance of Miss Congdon of the catalogue staff. With a view to safeguarding better the manuscripts, while at the same time permitting the freest possible use of them, a system of registration of students in the division has been adopted, together with additional precautions in the way of checking up the manuscripts both before and after their use by students. The impending removal to Room 105 of the manuscripts hitherto

stored in the large vault, seems to render timely the installation of a new and better method of classifying them, and work in this connection is under way at the present time.

Much work has been done during the year in classifying and arranging the manuscripts. The Moses M. Strong collection, acquired several years ago, has been overhauled with a view to putting it in final shape for the repairer and binder. The task of repairing and mounting the papers, which will doubtless be a work of several years' duration, was begun during the summer. The collection of Civil War papers from the governor's office, whose acquisition just at the close of the year was noted in the report for 1914, has been sorted and classified for more convenient administration and consultation. It is now ready to be put into manuscript boxes. In view of the character of the collection this disposition of it will doubtless be final. The collection of loose papers is estimated to contain some 20,000 manuscripts, and its arrangement required the full time of one attendant during the summer months, in addition to considerable preliminary and supervisory work on the part of another. Another attendant put in a summer's work sorting and arranging the E. W. Keyes collection, a description of which is given below. As thus arranged the loose papers alone fill over 100 manuscript boxes, in addition to which there are over forty volumes of letter-press copies of letters and papers originating with Mr. Keyes. Still another task of the same general character was the sorting, arranging, and cataloguing, by the chief of the division, of several hundred Draper manuscripts which were not dealt with when the collection was classified and bound many years ago, and which have been inaccessible, hitherto, to students. A still more important measure, in connection with the Draper collection, was the sending of twenty volumes to the Emery Record Preserving Company, of Taunton, Massachusetts, for repairing, mounting, and rebinding.

Accessions

Both with respect to their volume and their importance the year just closed seems likely long to remain remarkable from the viewpoint of the accessions made to the manuscript collec-

tion. A list, accompanied by descriptive comment, of the more important items is presented herewith:

Although acquired near the close of the preceding year it now first becomes possible to characterize the collection of Civil War papers received from the governor's office. In size, the collection is estimated to number between 20,000 and 25,000 loose documents; there are in addition twenty-eight letter-press copy books containing 500 to 800 pages each. In character, its contents are of unusual interest. To a much greater extent than in normal peaceful times the governor's office, during the stressful period of the Civil War, was the great clearing house of the State's civil and military governmental activities. To the historian this collection affords an intimate insight into the inner workings of our State government during the period of greatest stress and turmoil it has ever undergone. To the economist it reveals conditions as they existed during the war in a typical western state, showing in terms of first-hand intimacy the problems in which the conditions due to the war involved the home, the workshop, and the grainfield. To the student of military affairs it presents a picture of the camp, the march, and the field of battle; more unique, because rarer, it enables him to observe the workings of the organization, ordinarily invisible, which lay behind these more obvious expressions of the war's activities. To the sanitarian and humanitarian it reveals the problems encountered in the care of the sick and wounded, and measures adopted for their solution. From every conceivable source these letters and documents poured into the governor's office. Anxious mothers and fathers at home, sick and wounded soldiers at the front, applicants for State aid—in a word all who had business of whatever character with the State government and were anxious to reach the ear of its executive head, or who were unfamiliar with other executive departments, addressed themselves to the governor. In addition to papers local to Wisconsin there is a mass of correspondence with the federal government, with those of the sister states, and with various commanders of armies in the field. For greater convenience in administration and use, the collection has been classified, in accordance with the contents of the papers, under seven main heads.

Of original manuscript collections acquired during the year easily first in interest and importance are the Cyrus Woodman and the Elisha W. Keyes collections. Both Mr. Woodman and Mr. Keyes were educated men of shrewdness and ability, who achieved important business and political station, and who carefully preserved throughout a long lifetime their personal and political papers.

The Woodman collection comprises 181 substantial volumes of manuscripts, uniformly bound, covering the period from 1833 to 1889. Its creator, Cyrus Woodman, was an unusually cultivated and broad-minded man. A graduate of Bowdoin College, and a lawyer by profession, he came from Boston to Illinois in 1840 in the capacity of representative of the Boston & Western Land Company. In 1844 he removed to Mineral Point and entered into partnership with C. C. Washburn. The firm thus formed conducted during the next eleven years an active business in law, lumbering, banking, and other fields of activity. Although never active in politics Woodman was well acquainted with most of the important Wisconsin men of his time, in addition to enjoying a wide acquaintance outside the State. His papers constitute a mine of valuable information about almost every phase of life, business and social, in the Wisconsin of his generation. Although his home was in the East for many years prior to his death, Woodman continued to retain important business interests in Wisconsin, and so his papers continue to deal, to a large extent, with this section.

To no one at all familiar with the political and public life of Wisconsin in the last sixty years is an introduction to the late Judge E. W. Keyes, of Madison, necessary. As lawyer and judge, as postmaster of Madison, and political leader, his active career spanned the entire period of Wisconsin's statehood from its beginning until his death in 1910. Aside from scattering earlier papers, the collection begins to be important with the year 1847 and maintains its bulk and interest for the next sixty-three years. Probably no other collection of papers in existence affords as long and intimate a view of Wisconsin political life as does the Judge Keyes collection. In view of its confidential character and recent date, portions of the collection must be sealed to the student for a period of years. This trust the Society

gladly assumes, conscious as it is of the fact that when the proper time for their utilization shall have arrived the collection will constitute a priceless store of material for the student of Wisconsin's, and to some extent the nation's, political history.

Another unique manuscript collection may properly be noted here, although for convenience of administration it will be housed in the document division. The work of the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations during the last few years has been of nation-wide scope and importance. Of the reports upon the vast storehouse of information collected in the course of its lengthy hearings and numerous investigations but two sets of copies were made. One of these goes to the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; the other, by the kindness of Prof. John R. Commons, a member of the Commission, has been given to the State Historical Library. The reports fall into two divisions or parts. The first comprises the reports and investigations of the field staff of the Commission, while the second is devoted to the public hearings held by it. Upon the basis of the data contained in this manuscript material the Commission wrote its final report to Congress, which has recently been published.

In acquiring this manuscript material the Society has secured the latest and most exhaustive set of official studies that has yet been prepared on the economic and industrial conditions of the United States. Probably little, if any, of it will ever be published, and economists of the present day, as well as historians of the future, will find it necessary to come to this Library or to the U. S. Bureau of Labor to secure access to it. The reports of the public hearings, which are in shorthand, are accompanied in each case by typewritten digests of the evidence presented. The many reports by trained experts of the Commission on special phases of industrial life throughout the country, which have been in preparation for nearly three years, are of even greater value.

Mention only is made here, for the sake of calling attention to a fuller account in a later section of the report, of the acquisition of facsimile copies of many thousands of documents in the Washington, St. Louis, and Cuban archives, pertaining to the history of Wisconsin and the West. The Society has both the means and prestige to accomplish what the individual student commonly finds impossible of achievement in the way of gaining access to

archives and copies of the materials stored therein. It is believed that no more useful or creditable work can be done by the Society than thus to gather in our Library the material which students of Wisconsin and western history imperatively need but which by individual effort alone they are commonly unable to procure.

The members and friends of the Society continue to add to its collection at frequent intervals interesting groups of manuscripts. Of smaller collections received during the year one of the most interesting is the Bottomley papers, presented by Miss Anna B. Bottomley, of Rochester, Wisconsin. They comprise the correspondence from about 1842 to 1850 of the donor's father, Edwin Bottomley, who migrated from England to Racine County in 1842, with her grandfather, Thomas Bottomley, in England. The correspondence sets forth with unusual clarity and detail the problems and trials of the English settler upon the virgin Wisconsin prairie in the decade of the forties.

A single manuscript volume of much historical and sentimental interest was presented by W. B. Carter, of Lancaster, Wisconsin. It is a letter-press copy book kept from 1859–62 by Gen. William T. Sherman, chiefly while serving as superintendent of the newly founded military academy at Alexandria, Louisiana, which has since developed into the University of Louisiana. In view of the part he was shortly to play in the Civil War, much value attaches to the delineation, presented in the great General's letters, of the stages by which one representative Southern state slipped into armed rebellion against the national government.

Through the intercession of Dr. William Whyte of Madison, a loyal and active member of the Society, a unique group of religious papers has been presented to the Society by the owners, M. H. Pankow, of Waterloo, Wisconsin, E. A. Pankow, of St. James, Minnesota, and A. G. and H. J. Pankow, of Marshfield, Wisconsin. The documents, beautifully written, pertain to the history of certain controversies in the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Lebanon, Wisconsin, from 1854 to 1864. In a historical article to be published in the present volume, and based in part on these manuscripts, Doctor Whyte satisfactorily shows that Wisconsin no less than New England numbered among its settlers refugees for conscience' sake; and further, that having

escaped the heavy hand of the home government by migrating to the Wisconsin wilderness, they were no less fruitful in internal theological and religious feuds than were the better-known New England Puritans.

From Miss Mildred M. Lakin, of Milwaukee, has been received a number of letters and legal documents of her father, George W. Lakin, a lawyer and politician of Platteville, prior to 1854. Mrs. Lucius Fairchild, of Madison, has presented a group of papers of Gen. Cassius Fairchild, largely pertaining to his Civil War services. To the collection of Nathan Heald papers several letters have been added, the gift of Mr. and Mrs. Joshua Richmond, of St. Louis. It is interesting to note in this connection that Mrs. Richmond is a granddaughter of Major Heald. Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia, is the donor of a large collection of autograph letters of men of prominence in the early history of our country. The collection is classified under several heads, such as members of the continental congress, cabinet officers, officers and generals of the Revolution, and generals of the War of 1812. From the superintendent of the Society have come photostat copies of several important early Chicago documents.

Among the classes of manuscript material most valuable to the student are well-written journals and diaries. Several important acquisitions of this character have been made in the last twelve months. George J. Kellogg, of Janesville, has presented his diary for the period 1847 to 1911, together with account books from 1847 to 1859 and some genealogical data. Through the courtesy of Mrs. E. B. Skewes, of Union Grove, the Society was permitted to copy the diary kept from 1839 to 1871 by her father, Samuel Skewes of Trezodden Farm, Ruan Major Parish, Cornwall, England, later of Yorkville, Racine County, Wisconsin. This diary contains a great deal of agricultural and economic data, and already has been put to important use in connection with the preparation, by one of the professors of the University, of an agricultural history. Copies of two interesting special journals have also been acquired, through the courtesy of Mrs. Martha Fuller, of Elkhorn, and John A. Granger, of Chicago. The first is a journal of a trip of Charles A. Noyes of Buffalo, New York, by way of the Great Lakes, to Chicago in 1836, together with an account of a rather notable contest over the possession

of his land at Lake Geneva. The second is a journal of a tour from Buffalo to Green Bay and back in 1827, made by Mr. Granger's grandfather. The contents are especially interesting to Wisconsin students because of the fact that Granger made the outward journey on the steamer which carried Governor Cass, Henry Schoolcraft, General Scott, and a long list of notables to the making of the treaty of the Butte des Morts, the negotiation of which was dramatically interrupted by the outbreak of the so-called "Winnebago War."

A valuable example of another type of document is the two-volume manuscript genealogy, Welcome Arnold Greene's notes on the Arnold genealogy, and on the Greene genealogy, presented by Howard Greene of Milwaukee. Mr. Greene has also deposited with the superintendent typewritten copies of several interesting journals of travels to Europe, South America, and other points, made by his ancestor some ninety years ago. One of these journals describes a trip by sea to New Orleans and thence up the Mississippi and Ohio and overland to Philadelphia, enlivened with shrewd comment upon the society encountered en route. Particularly interesting is the description given of the city of New Orleans. Permission has been given by Mr. Greene to make copies of the journals for permanent retention in the Society's manuscript collection.

Work in the Washington and St. Louis Archives

The serious study of history involves the collection of all possible sources of information upon the subject that is being studied. In former times this work must be done, if at all, by individual effort. Because of the immensity of the task and the practical obstacles to its consummation even the most devoted student could accomplish but little in the way of positive results. One striking aspect of governmental activity in modern times has been the systematic collection and preservation, and as far as practicable the publication, of historical sources. In this field the leading European governments have done vastly more than has our own nation. The natural result of the bending of the mighty energies of the government to the work of making available to students the sources of historical information has been

the birth of a new science of historical scholarship. In the eastern portion of the United States the study of history is more advanced, as might naturally be expected, than in the newer sections of the country. Instead of being fostered by the state itself, however, such work in the East is more commonly prosecuted by private associations. The Middle West has taken the lead in this country in developing state-supported historical activities, and the primacy of Wisconsin among her sister states in this particular field of work is generally recognized.

In line with the broad-minded policy and traditions of the Society, laid down from its beginning, when the State was less than a year old, is the work of collection "of materials for the study of history, especially the history of this State and of the Middle West." The greatest storehouse of these materials outside the city of Madison, if indeed even this exception should be made, is the government archives at Washington. Unfortunately for our repute as a nation, however, Congress has thus far manifested superb indifference to the preservation of our governmental archives. In this respect we lag far behind every other great nation of the Occident. So deplorable is the condition of the federal archives, in fact, that from whatever point of view the subject is approached it is hardly conceivable that a worse system of preserving and administering them could be devised. For this and other obvious reasons, it seems highly desirable to improve whatever opportunities may be presented to procure for the Society's Library facsimile copies of the documents in the Washington archives which are of particular interest to our own State. A beginning has been made during the year of prosecuting systematically this work. It is not expected that means will be available to continue it uninterruptedly, but it is believed that it should be prosecuted as steadily as the financial exigencies of the Society may permit.

In January, 1915, a trained historical scholar was set at work upon the important and voluminous House files, which have never been examined hitherto by students interested in Wisconsin. The search of the files was continued through the year 1848, the end of Wisconsin's territorial period; as a result some 10,000 pages of manuscript deemed of sufficient importance to Wisconsin to repay copying now repose in the Society's Library.

Their contents deal with every conceivable subject on which any individual or group of individuals might find occasion to appeal to Congress in the sixty-year period covered by the search. The search was discontinued at this point only because of lack of means to continue it at this time. With each year there is a steadily increasing volume of material in the files. As soon as may be practicable the search should be carried on from 1848 toward the present time. As it is, the Library has acquired a mine of absolutely unworked material covering the early period of our history.

From the House files the Society's agent was sent to the Indian Office. Several years ago the late superintendent made a beginning of the work here, having a search made of the records of the office down to 1836. Since then, however, great masses of documents for the period thus covered have been brought to light. The present search was designed to uncover everything of interest not previously discovered and copied, and to carry the work forward from 1836 to 1860. The latter date may be regarded as final, so far as the Indian Office archives are concerned, since by 1860 the Indian problems of Wisconsin had dwindled to a tithe of their earlier magnitude and importance. The work is now nearly completed, although not all of the manuscript copies have yet been received. The fruit of the Indian Office search is about 25,000 pages of manuscript pertaining to Indian affairs in Wisconsin and in the region immediately adjoining this State. Henceforth the student who is interested in this field will be able to carry on his study to much better advantage in our Library than in the Indian Office itself. Not only will he find the Wisconsin material segregated from the hundreds of thousands of other documents in the Indian Office, but he will also enjoy the facilities of a careful card calendar which conveys at a glance a summary characterization of every individual document in the collection.

It had been expected to search and copy, during the coming year, the State Department archives in the fashion described for the House files and Indian Office records. Meanwhile, however, a development has been brought about which has caused a modification of the plan of procedure. After much preliminary discussion, at a conference of representatives of the state historical departments of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, and Wiscon-

sin, held at Chicago in June, 1915, it was agreed that an effort should be made to test the feasibility of conducting one common search of some one of the departmental archives at Washington with a view to locating and copying all the material that might be found of interest to the entire group of states concerned in the enterprise. Because of the work already done and experience acquired by Wisconsin in this field, the Society's superintendent was requested by the conference to work out a feasible plan for carrying out the project contemplated, and make the necessary arrangements therefor. Correspondence to this end has been conducted throughout the summer, with the result that a workable program has been devised, and at the time of making this report its execution awaits only the final assent of the heads of the departments of the states interested in the matter. If, as now seems likely, the project is carried out, a considerable economy should result as compared with the cost to the individual states of conducting separately such a search. Moreover, if this first essay at coöperation between the states of the Northwest in an enterprise of this character should result successfully there is reason to hope that a greater degree of interstate coöperation along historical lines in future may result.

Similar in character, but of minor magnitude, has been the work conducted during the year in the St. Louis and Cuban archives. St. Louis was the center of the fur trade of the upper Mississippi and Missouri valleys, and in the papers of the Missouri Historical Society there is much material of interest to Wisconsin students. In January, 1915, a member of our research staff spent several weeks searching the archives for such material. About 800 pages of manuscript have thus been copied. In this connection public acknowledgment should be made of many courtesies rendered by the Missouri Historical Society's curator, Mrs. Beauregard, and by Arthur Bostwick, librarian of the St. Louis Public Library. Acknowledgment should also be made of the liberality of Edward V. Papin of St. Louis in sending to Madison a considerable number of fur-trade letters and documents owned by him, in order that the Society might enjoy the opportunity of making photostat copies of them for its own archives. By the courtesy of Miss Elizabeth West, state archivist of Texas, the opportunity was afforded of procuring at cost about

1,600 prints of documents selected from the Archivo Nacional de Cuba, the contents of which pertain to the activities of the Spanish in the Mississippi Valley.

The Repair of Manuscripts

The leading historical institutions of the East maintain departments for the repairing and mounting of manuscripts. The manuscripts division of the Library of Congress has a force of seven workers in this department, the Pennsylvania Historical Society, with a total library staff of only twelve or thirteen members numbers four in its repair-of-manuscripts department. Notwithstanding the obvious necessity for such work no western historical society department, so far as the superintendent's information goes, maintains a regularly organized repair department. Our own practice hitherto has been to send, from time to time as the state of the Society's funds made possible, a volume or volumes to the Emery Record Preserving Company of Taunton, Massachusetts, for treatment. This process, however, is expensive, and in addition other important objections to its employment exist. Accordingly it was determined, after a careful canvass of the situation, to make a beginning in a small way of instituting a repair department of our own. During the summer William Berwick, in charge of the work in the Library of Congress, kindly spent some time in Madison giving expert instruction to the member of our own staff who had been selected to carry on the work for us. The art, for such it may fairly be called, of repairing and mounting manuscripts, is of comparatively recent origin having been developed in the Vatican Library but a few decades ago. The things that may be done by a skilled worker in this field seem little short of marvelous to those unfamiliar with such work. The splitting of a page of ordinary newspaper, for example, so carefully that not the slightest damage is done to the printing on either side of the sheet, is looked upon as a comparatively simple operation. Yet the conduct of the work is at best slow and expensive, and it seems practicable to employ it only in case of the rarer and more valuable manuscripts in any collection.

The Museum

Installations

In the Museum a large part of the year has been devoted to replacing the numerous collections and objects removed in 1914 to closets, storerooms, and other places of safety to make room for the case-builders and other workmen then engaged in its various halls. As visitors and schools continued to come to the Museum in large numbers while the work of reëstablishing and reorganizing the collections was going on in halls temporarily closed, a number of special exhibits had to be arranged in other halls to provide for their instruction and entertainment.

All of the seventy-five new wall and table cases erected during 1914 are now occupied by permanent or temporary displays. The large amount of work involved was undertaken and accomplished without additional help. The shifting of some of the older collections to new locations has made possible a distinct improvement in the character of their contents and in the method of their installation, thus greatly increasing their practical and educational usefulness. The task of accessioning and card-cataloguing the thousands of specimens which the Society owns has at length been completed after several years of work. All of the duplicate and other stored materials are now so arranged and indexed as to be readily available for use when desired. During the year about one hundred oil portraits were removed from the walls of the south, east, and north halls and rehung to better advantage.

The new booth cases extending from the east end of the south hall through the east hall of the Museum are now occupied by collections illustrating the history of education, politics, the fur trade, railroads in Wisconsin, and the merchant marine on the upper Mississippi River and the Great Lakes. To these are to be added others, now in preparation, illustrating religious history and the beginnings and development of banking, printing, and lumbering. Five additional cases of material have been added to the collection in the military history room, the number of specimens in which has been more than trebled since their original overhauling in 1909.

The Pioneer Drug Store

New exhibits in place illustrate customs of the Ainu of northern Japan, and the ethnology of western China and Thibet, Hawaii, and the South Sea Islands. Foreign archeological materials have been assembled in a case in the west end of the south hall. This is a modest but well-selected collection and is put to frequent use by University students and instructors.

The greater portion of the north hall of the Museum is now devoted to an exhibition of collections illustrating pioneer household furnishings and industries. Grouped about the early American kitchen as a central attraction are cases of old-fashioned clothing, textiles, china and metal ware, and lighting apparatus. Examples of early melodeons, organs, pianos, and sewing machines, a sausage machine, a cheese press, and linen and flax wheels occupy space on the floor. A recently assembled collection of materials illustrating the medical history of the State occupies several cases adjoining the old-fashioned drug store.

Accessions

The search for specimens and collections suitable for Museum use has continued throughout the year. While some gifts reached the Museum from other sources the majority of the yearly additions to the collections come as a result of correspondence, of advertisements in state papers, and of personal solicitation. About 1,100 new entries of gifts, received from a total of ninety donors have been made in the accession records. A list of the more noteworthy is presented in the following paragraph.

Joseph McBell, secretary of the Wisconsin Perry Centennial Commission, presented a fine miniature model of the brig "Niagara," one of Commodore Perry's victorious fleet, and a series of medals, badges, and other materials connected with the observance of the centennial. Mrs. C. A. Swineford placed in the care of the Museum a collection of forty specimens of Tlingit Indian articles collected near Sitka, Alaska, and Mrs. J. L. Ackerman a choice collection of about fifty specimens of early American and European pewter, brass, and chinaware. This latter collection includes fine examples of old luster, Lowestoft, and Canton ware. From Fred Sholes, of Chicago, has been received a Sholes and Glidden typewriter manufactured by C. Remington & Sons, Ilion, New York, in 1878. Stephen Grover, of Reserve, a member of the

council of chiefs of the tribe of the Lac Courte Oreille band of Wisconsin-Chippewa Indians, has presented the war drum of Na-na-on-ge-be (Dressing Bird), an early chief. A collection of archeological materials was presented by George L. Boundey of Oconomowoc. Olaf Strand of Madison deposited a valuable bride's gown and cape, about 200 years old, used in his family in Osterdalen, Norway; George Kerrigan and Mrs. Will N. Wells, a silver flute carried during the Civil War by William Kerrigan, principal musician of the Nineteenth Wisconsin Infantry; and J. N. Woodward, of Foley, Alabama, a friction electrical machine said to have been constructed under the personal supervision of Benjamin Franklin. The Provincial Museum of Toronto, Canada, has given a series of large casts of flint implements found in the province. Mrs. G. E. Bryant presented various articles formerly belonging to her husband, the late Gen. George E. Bryant, and Mrs. J. H. McIntyre, of Portage, several articles from the early hunting lodge of Count Agoston Haraszthy, in Roxbury Township, Dane County.

School and University Attendance and Conventions

The State University and the public schools have fully awakened to the possibilities of the Museum, and to the benefits which it offers. It is largely in the interest of the student that it seeks to increase its opportunities for developing the public appreciation of State and national history. The Museum was visited during the year by about 1,300 pupils in attendance at educational institutions at Madison and adjoining and distant counties, an increase of 500 over last year. Twenty-five classes, chiefly high school, with a total of 607 pupils, came from schools at Eau Claire, Thorp, Kilbourn, Fond du Lac, Richland Center, Pardeeville, Potosi, Viola, North Freedom, Spring Green, Baraboo, Lodi, Prairie du Chien, Jefferson, Columbus, Lake Mills, Lowell, Waunakee, Evansville, Middleton, Beloit, and Janesville. In this list twelve Wisconsin counties are represented.

Seventeen classes, with a total of 412 pupils, attended from local public and parochial schools. All were accompanied by their teachers, and nearly all came in response to special invitations extended at the beginning of the year by the Museum office. Fifteen University classes were given instruction in the Museum.

These came from the departments of art, home economics, history, English, music, civil engineering, library, philosophy, and pharmacy.

On March 18, a number of boys, participants in the Rock County "Corn Contest," visited the Museum. The annual visit of the boys of the State course, about a hundred in number, was made under the guidance of Prof. R. A. Moore, on June 25. For this occasion a special exhibit of original strains of Indian corn grown by a number of Wisconsin and Western tribes was made.

The members of the Madison Art Guild paid the Museum a visit on February 2. On October 7 a reception was given to the officers and members of the Society of American Indians, then holding its fourth annual conference at the University of Wisconsin. Many special courtesies were extended to the members of the conference by the Museum. The Society's appreciation of these was appropriately acknowledged in resolutions of gratitude adopted at the close of the convention. The programs of a number of other conventions and civic and industrial bodies, held in Madison, included visits to the Museum.

On the evenings of March 25 and 26, the Museum was opened to accommodate out-of-town visitors to the University Exposition held in the Gymnasium. It was also open to the public on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, April 4, and again on Sunday, May 9. The attendance on both occasions was large, about 400 persons being present on the first, and 500 on the second Sunday.

Special Exhibits

Exhibits of a special character followed one another during the year. One of the most instructive of these was a carefully selected collection of several hundred early American gift books and literary annuals. These were drawn largely from the library of the University of Wisconsin and from the large private collection of Prof. W. B. Cairns. The artistic bindings of the books, the beauty and interest of the steel-engraved illustrations, and the literary value of the contributions of early American authors of note contained in these works attracted many visitors.

An exhibit of autograph letters of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of 1787 was made in the print room during the month of March. Of these the Society

possesses one of the supposedly few complete collections in existence.

During the conference of the Society of American Indians an exhibit of rare and valuable manuscripts, maps, and pictures connected with early Wisconsin Indian history was arranged. Through the courtesy of Supt. John R. Wise an exhibit illustrating the progress in education and the manual arts of the Indian pupils of Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, was made at the same time.

For the convenience and instruction of students attending the festival course of the University summer session an extensive exhibit of materials illustrating American and British historical pageants, was installed during the month of July. Miss Clark, the director of the course, held conferences with students and citizens in the exhibit hall on every afternoon during the two weeks of its continuance. At its close she generously donated a considerable number of pamphlets and other pageant material to the Historical Library.

An exhibit of valuable crystal models of the noted diamonds of history was made possible through the courtesy of the Milwaukee Public Museum. Some of the more extensive exhibits of the year illustrate past and present European wars, 300 years of American costume, Easter customs of the world, children's clothing of fifty years ago, and the lumbering industry in Wisconsin. All these displays were largely attended.

The exhibitions of the Madison Art Association, held in the auditorium, have continued to arouse much interest and attract large numbers of visitors. In the month of January an exhibition was held of oil paintings of the impressionistic type by S. T. Kennedy. This was succeeded by one of forty oil paintings by Everett L. Warner, which continued during March and April. The May exhibition consisted of a collection of paintings by David Ericson and a collection of photographs of American wild flowers prepared by Doctor Conway of Milwaukee. An exhibition of drawings by Fritz Zillig, begun in June, was continued in place throughout the summer.

Executive Committee's Report

Miscellaneous Activities

On July 10, a party of University students was conducted on a pilgrimage to the sites of archeological interest along the shore of Lake Mendota. This proved so popular that by request of the University a second expedition was conducted over the same route two weeks later. A similar pilgrimage of Madison High School students was conducted to the remaining sites on the shores of Lake Wingra, on October 15. An address was given by the chief of the Museum before the meeting of the landmarks and history section of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, held at Racine, on November 3. Other addresses were delivered before local and Milwaukee societies and clubs. A large amount of assistance has been given to women's clubs throughout the State desiring information on subjects within the scope of the Museum's special field.

Archeological Activities

On October 7, during the Madison conference of the Society of American Indians, a fine bronze tablet, the gift of W. W. Warner, a member of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, was unveiled on one of the group of prehistoric Indian mounds preserved on the crest of Vilas Park hill. The unveiling address was delivered by Charles Brown. Mrs. Sara E. Mallon, a young woman of Wisconsin-Menominee Indian descent, unveiled the marker, and Rev. Henry Roe Cloud, a noted Winnebago Indian speaker, gave the address of acceptance. Members of fourteen American Indian tribes were in attendance at this ceremony. Two other tablets, the gift of James M. Pyott of Chicago, to be placed upon unmarked mounds preserved on the north shore of Lake Wingra, will soon be in place. Since 1910 ten tablets have been erected by the Wisconsin Archeological Society on mound groups on the shores of Lake Mendota and Lake Wingra.

Dr. Louis Falge has completed an archeological survey of Manitowoc County, a report of which is being prepared for publication.

Four archeological publications have been issued: "Archeological Resources of Western Wisconsin," by George H. Squier; "Indian Remains on Washington Island," by George R.

Fox; "Fond du Lac County Antiquities," by W. A. Titus; and "The Lac Courte Oreille Region," by C. E. Brown. Each constitutes a valuable contribution to Wisconsin archeological history.

Research and Publication Division

The "publication of materials for the study of history" is stated in our Constitution as one of the objects for which the Society exists. Throughout all its history the publication of the fruits of historical research has gone hand in hand with the upbuilding of a great historical library. Fully appreciating, as we do, the great work that has been accomplished in the past, the present administration would be unworthy of its predecessors, did it not seek, not merely to continue but to broaden and improve upon the Society's record in the field of research and publication. Hurried or superficial work in this field, however, is worse than no work at all, a fact to which many historical publications on our Library shelves bear witness; and some time yet will be required in order fairly to demonstrate what the new administration may be expected to accomplish.

Precedent to any positive achievement in this field must be the formulation of a plan or plans concerning the work that is to be done. Such a program should be sufficiently comprehensive to include every important aspect of the historical field. At the same time it should be sufficiently flexible to permit the easy adjustment of the work from time to time to new interests or opportunities of the Society as they may arise. Much consideration has been devoted to the formulation of such a program. It is accounted a virtue rather than a defect of the plan that no single lifetime will suffice to complete its execution.

In the past in addition to two or three important series the Society has published many occasional volumes. With a view to unifying and more conveniently identifying its issues the general caption "Wisconsin Historical Publications" has been adopted, to appear on all of them. Under this general designation each volume published will have its own individual title and will commonly belong to some one of the various series into which the publications of the Society will fall.

Typographically, the publications of the Society have never been a source of credit to it or of pleasure to the eye of the book lover. Since all the printing must be done by the State printer, subject to the specifications laid down by the printing board, the inevitable tendency is to run all the publications of the State through one common mold, regardless of the character of their contents or of the question whether they are possessed of ephemeral interest only, or, as is the case with the Society's publications, will be resorted to by successive generations of readers and students. In the hope of bringing about an improvement in the Society's publications in this respect the superintendent has held numerous conferences with the State printer and the various State officials concerned. It would be gratifying to be able to report more decided progress than a due regard for humdrum veracity permits. Yet one improvement already achieved and a more important one in prospect can be reported. A comparison of the four volumes which have been published during the last eighteen months with those published earlier discloses an improved grade of workmanship with respect to binding. The change in prospect is the adoption of a new format for the volumes to be published by the Society in future. Comment upon it, whether favorable or otherwise, would perhaps more prudently be reserved for a succeeding annual report.

The year has witnessed the publication of three volumes, in addition to a number of routine Bulletins of Information. The first volume of a calendar series of the Draper collection of manuscripts, copy for which was sent to the State printer in August, 1914, was distributed to the Society's members and exchanges in July, 1915. The volume of *Proceedings* of the Society for 1914, sent to the printer in November, was available for distribution about the same time as the foregoing. Of its contents an appreciative review was published in the New York *Nation*, Sept. 9, 1915. The reviewer characterizes the address of Mr. Ford, delivered at the annual meeting, as "notable for two reasons: It is a careful and illuminating study, and it is written with a lightness of touch that is almost sprightly." Could the reviewer have enjoyed the pleasure of listening to the delivery of the address he would have found, we are persuaded, no occasion for using the qualifying adverb. In view of the reputation for

severity enjoyed by the *Nation's* reviewers, together with the fact that the *Proceedings* is the one volume of professedly popular character which the Society issues, its contents being contributed largely by men and women who write historical articles merely as an avocation, it is perhaps worthy of note that two-thirds of the articles in the volume elicit favorable comment.

The third and latest volume, which is being distributed to members and exchanges at the time of writing this report, is the index to volumes I–XX of the *Collections* of the Society. A properly compiled index is by no means the least valuable portion of any book or series of books. Yet the work of preparing it is exceedingly tedious, and in the present instance the task was also formidable from the viewpoint of magnitude. Finally, the maker of an index can expect no meed of popular interest or appreciation of his efforts. As with a shoe that does not pinch, we are conscious of the quality of excellence in an index only when suffering from its absence. Attention is thus called to this matter here because the members of the Society's staff (specifically mentioned in the preface to the volume) who prepared the present index are deserving of more credit and appreciation than is likely ever to accrue to them.

The Bulletins of Information published were: No. 74, *Periodicals and Newspapers Currently Received at the Library, Corrected to January 1, 1915*, May, 1915; No. 75, *Reports of Auxiliaries, for 1914*, March, 1915; No. 76, *List of Active Members of the Society and of its Local Auxiliaries*, June, 1915.

A resumé of the work now under way in the division and of the plans for the immediate future seems pertinent at this point. In the last report mention was made of prospective volumes in the Draper series and the fur-trade series of the *Collections*. Editorial work on the former volume has been pushed near to completion; its conclusion has been postponed for the present in the hope that copies of certain manuscripts in the Library of Congress which should logically be included in the volume may be procured. This done, the copy can be placed in the hands of the printer in a short time. Meanwhile the preparation of copy for a succeeding volume of the series has recently been undertaken. The task may be expected to occupy the greater part of a year. With reasonable promptness on the part of the State printer the publication

of the volume should be completed about the close of the present biennium (July, 1917).

The prospective volume in the fur-trade series has been postponed awaiting the completion of the copying of the Wisconsin documents in the Indian Office, described in another section of this report, in order that such as prove pertinent may be available for inclusion. In view of the mass of material that is being uncovered it seems likely that two volumes, instead of one as previously anticipated, will be requisite to bring this series to its logical conclusion.

The identification, already notable, of the Society with the records of the exploring expedition of Lewis and Clark, will shortly be materially strengthened. Two decades ago the late superintendent discovered the manuscript journal of Sergeant Floyd, a member of the famous expedition, among the documents in the Draper collection. Ten years later as many of the original journals of the expedition as were then known to be in existence were given to the world for the first time under Doctor Thwaites' editorial direction. Recently important additional records of the expedition have been found among the Biddle family papers in Philadelphia, which the Society has been permitted to copy with a view to publication. The new-found records comprise a journal kept by Captains Lewis and Clark of the preliminary river journey in the summer and autumn of 1803, from Pittsburgh down the Ohio and up the Mississippi to the winter camping ground opposite the mouth of the Missouri; the journal, lost to the world for a century, kept by Sergt. John Ordway during the entire course of the expedition; and certain briefer records of minor interest. The editing of the volume has been carried on at intervals during the year, and at the time of writing this report the copy is practically ready to go to the printer. It should therefore be ready for distribution early in the new year.

The writing of an economic history of the State in the decade of the Civil War, begun by Mr. Merk under the direction of the History Commission, is now approaching completion, and some time during the coming year the volume should be in the hands of the Society's members. Accounts of the scope of this work have been given in previous annual reports. Its publication may

be expected to mark the addition of a scholarly and useful volume to the literature of Wisconsin's history as a commonwealth.

For a little over a year the work of calendaring the Kentucky series in the Draper manuscripts has been under way. When completed it is expected to publish the calendar as volume II of the Draper calendar series. The work of calendaring proceeds but slowly, only a portion of the time of one attendant being devoted to it. About one-third of the material in the Kentucky series has been calendared thus far, so that the completion of the task and the publication of the volume may be expected still to require two or more years' time.

Bare mention will suffice for the present concerning two or three other projects, the time of consummation of which is indefinite or remote. A historical atlas of Wisconsin has been planned, and the collection of the information necessary to its preparation has begun. The publication of the executive records of the State is contemplated, and during the past year stenographers have been employed copying such records as were already in hand. The publication of this series will be a task of many years and will run to many volumes. Nor can the work of actual publication begin until extensive search shall have been made for all the extant material pertinent to the series. More imminent is the project for a documentary history of Wisconsin's constitutions. Although no work has actually been done as yet, the superintendent anticipates making this his own next considerable editorial task.

Future Expansion

In the last annual report considerable space was devoted to a discussion of the need of the Library in the near future for additional space for housing the newspaper and public document divisions. In connection therewith attention was called to the situation with respect to the housing and care of the public records of Wisconsin, and the suggestion was made that both needs might be met by the provision of a combined archives and library building. This particular method of procedure may or may not be the wisest one to adopt. It was put forward only tentatively, and neither this nor any other course should be entered upon without due consideration. Two outstanding facts in connection with

the present situation, however, admit of no dispute: With the continued growth of its collections and of its constituency the Library will require, within a few years at the most, additional room; at the same time the public records of the State are being administered uneconomically and are subject to the constant dangers of loss and destruction. In view of these things the statement made a year ago, "that a maturely considered plan of action is wiser than a policy of mere opportunism, and that only good can come of the discussion of issues that must soon be faced," will bear repetition.

In the care of its public records the United States lags far behind every other important civilized nation. Not to trouble about Old World comparisons, the setting forth of which might be unduly depressing to the national pride of both writer and reader of this report, Canada has long had an admirably administered archives building which puts to shame the temporizing devices of our own national government. Yet a royal commission, at work on the problem for the last three years, has recently recommended a plan for the better conservation and administration of the public records. It calls for unity of control and operation by the creation of a public record office, and the provision of adequate buildings and help to care for and administer the records. More significant, since the commission's report was submitted the government has passed an order-in-council approving of its recommendations. Among the states of our own Union, Wisconsin occupies a middle position with respect to the care of its records. Since the erection of the new capitol the bulk of them are probably practically safe against destruction by fire or dampness. They are not administered wisely, efficiently, or economically, however, and from the nature of the case never can be until a proper organization for this end is provided. "No reform," says the Canadian royal commission, "can be permanent or effective which does not provide for concentration and unity of control." In this respect a number of states are far in the lead of Wisconsin. The intelligent and steady advances made in recent years by our adjoining state, Iowa, to mention a single instance, are particularly worthy of note and emulation.

It is not proposed to enter in this report upon any thoroughgoing discussion of the subject under consideration. Much investigation and planning must precede any positive action in the premises. Someone must take the lead in the matter. The State Historical Society will be unworthy of its record and of the trust reposed in it by the State if it permits this leadership to go by default to others, or if it omits to inform the citizens of the State of the facts concerning its public records. The suggestion is made therefore that at the present annual meeting suitable provision be made, by the appointment of a special committee or otherwise, for the proper consideration of the entire subject raised in this section of the report.

On behalf of the Executive Committee,

M. M. Quaife, *Superintendent*

Treasurer's Report

Statement of Condition of State Historical Society July 1, 1915

Assets:		
Cash		$3,530.67
Mortgages		98,100.00
Real Estate		580.54
R. G. Thwaites Portrait Fund		477.06
		$102,688.27
Distributed as follows:		
General and Binding Fund	$39,322.37	
Antiquarian Fund	19,964.79	
Draper Fund	12,732.36	
Mary M. Adams Art Fund	5,429.04	
Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund	1,737.97	
Special Book Fund	1,215.71	
Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund	11,497.61	
R. G. Thwaites Bequest	10,264.14	
Emily House Bequest	519.49	
Entertainment Fund	4.79	
		$102,688.27

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
½ Annual dues	$361.50	
½ Life Membership fees	130.00	
½ Sale of Duplicates	113.47	
Share of interest	1,844.91	
		$2,449.88
Treasurer, Cr.		
Mississippi Valley Historical Association, books	$200.00	
J. F. Jameson, services	4.94	
J. F. Jameson, books	50.00	
M. M. Quaife, travel	18.57	
M. M. Quaife, miscellaneous bills	32.26	
Charles E. Brown, travel	15.67	
R. R. Donnelley & Sons Co., books	448.60	

R. C. Nicodemus, surety bond	$37.50	
G. J. Corscot, examination of records for unpaid taxes	4.00	
Commercial Camera Co., supplies	203.60	
L. S. Hanks, salary	150.00	
F. S. Spofford, services	4.50	
J. F. Schadauer & Co., supplies	20.03	
Annie A. Nunns, travel	99.65	
Jessie T. Thwaites, travel	105.90	
St. Paul, Minn., taxes	5.17	
Edward Woodman, miscellaneous	15.45	
Balance to Binding Fund	1,034.04	
		$2,449.88

General and Binding Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Old balance	$38,283.03	
Gift	5.30	
Balance from income	1,034.04	
New Balance		$39,322.37

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

½ Annual dues	$361.50	
½ Life Membership fees	130.00	
½ Sale of duplicates	113.54	
Share of interest	891.14	
		$1,496.18

Treasurer, Cr.

Balance to Antiquarian Fund	$1,496.18

Antiquarian Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Old Balance	$18,468.61	
From income	1,496.18	
New Balance		$19,964.79

Draper Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

Balance	$12,115.62	
Sale of duplicates	33.88	
Interest	582.86	
New Balance		$12,732.36

Treasurer's Report

Mary M. Adams Art Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$5,232.81	
From Bradley fund	.25	
Share of interest	250.48	
		$5,483.54
Treasurer, Cr.		
Foster Brothers, pictures	$54.50	
Balance	5,429.04	
		$5,483.54

Entertainment Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$11.29	
Paid Boyd & Fichten	6.50	
New Balance		$4.79

Anna R. Sheldon Memorial Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$1,660.90	
Share of interest	77.07	
New Balance		$1,737.97

Special Book Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$1,218.61	
Paid M. M. Quaife, miscellaneous	2.90	
New Balance		$1,215.71

Hollister Pharmaceutical Fund

Treasurer, Dr.		
Balance	$8,979.45	
Sale Woman's Building Co. stock	75.00	
A/C Judgment vs. A. H. Hollister Estate	2,000.00	
Interest	443.16	
New Balance		$11,497.61

R. G. Thwaites Portrait Fund

Treasurer, Dr.

By gifts of friends, transmitted from the superintendent of the Society	$562.00	
Balance	477.06	
		$1,039.06

Treasurer, Cr.

Newcomb-Macklin Company, frame	$28.80	
Hagelstein Brothers, photograph	10.26	
John Johansen, portrait	1,000.00	
		$1,039.06

Emily House Bequest

Treasurer, Dr.

Bequest	$500.00	
Share of interest	19.49	
Balance		$519.49

R. G. Thwaites Bequest

Treasurer, Dr.

A/C Bequest	$10,023.29	
Share of interest	240.85	
Balance		$10,264.14

Albert Clayton Beckwith

Reports of Local Auxiliary Societies

Green Bay

The active work of the Green Bay Historical Society has been carried on during the past year mainly through its several committees. No meeting of the Society has been held, but much, however, has been accomplished. The Landmarks Committee, Mrs. J. H. Elmore chairman, by means of small subscriptions from the members of the Society, was enabled to purchase and erect on the southwest corner of the Beaumont House, a bronze tablet to mark the site of the old Sauk village located in that immediate vicinity for many years in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The inscription on the tablet is as follows:

On this site was located in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a large stockaded village of Sauk Indians. Here on Sept. 16th 1733, Coulon De Villiers, Commandant of Ft. St. Francis, was fatally shot by Black-Bird, a noted Sauk Chief. A fierce battle ensued in which many distinguished French officers were slain, and the Sauks were forced to abandon their village.

Erected by the Green Bay Historical Society July, 1915.

From September 24–26, a very interesting exhibition of rare and beautiful laces, fans, jewelry, shawls, and rare historic articles, of which there are many in Green Bay, was held in the children's and assembly rooms of the Public Library, to aid the Liberty Pole Committee appointed by this Society, to raise funds for the purchase and erection of a steel liberty pole on the courthouse grounds. Photographs of historic places were also sold during the exhibition, and did much to stimulate an interest in marking the many historic sites in and about Green Bay. It proved to be very successful, and the sum of $133 was realized for the liberty-pole fund. The thanks of the Society are

due to the ladies who planned and made the exhibit a historical and financial success.

During the year three prominent members of the Society have been claimed by death, Rev. Joseph J. Fox, Rev. Leo A. Ricklin, and Mrs. James S. Baker. The following memorial notices concerning them are offered:

Bishop Fox, born at Green Bay, Aug. 2, 1855, died, after a long and painful illness, Mar. 13, 1915. He was the son of Paul Fox, one of the early pioneers of Wisconsin and for many years an active leader in Green Bay industries. Bishop Fox pursued his academic studies in Green Bay and at St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, going then to Louvain, Belgium, for the study of theology and the more advanced sciences. He was ordained at Malines, Belgium, June 7, 1879.

He was appointed fifth Bishop of Green Bay in June, 1904, and on July 25 of the same year was consecrated Bishop in St. Francis Xavier Cathedral by the Most Reverend Archbishop Sebastian G. Messmer of Milwaukee. During his episcopacy, as during his life as parish priest, the true Christian spirit was exemplified in every word and act in his dealings with Catholic and non-Catholic alike, considering all as belonging to the one great family in Christ. This is nowhere more clearly demonstrated than in his charities. He gave generously to every worthy cause, and forgave with true Christian spirit the failings of the erring brother.

He was a member of the Green Bay Historical Society from its organization, and was long its vice-president, retiring only from this position when compelled by failing health. He was always deeply interested in the work of the Society, and most enthusiastic in the discovery and marking of places and articles of historic interest. Always courteous and kindly in manner, he won for himself the esteem and respect of all those with whom he came in contact.

The following resolution was adopted by the Society:

That in the death of Bishop Fox this Society has lost an esteemed and valued member, and the diocese at large an honored and conscientious man and prelate. The secretary is directed to spread these resolutions on the records of this Society as a slight tribute to his memory and character.

Rev. Leo Alphonse Ricklin, also a charter member of the Society, passed away, April 12, 1915. He was born in Alsace, France, Oct. 2, 1849, and ordained to the priesthood in the celebrated cathedral at Strassburg, Mar. 13, 1873.

In his early ministry he became chief editor of the *Union d'Alsace Lorraine*, 1880-1886, when he came to the United States, first entering the missionary field in South Dakota. Desirous of acquiring an easier command of the English language he spent two years at the Catholic University at Washington. When in 1892 the Rt. Rev. S. G. Messmer was appointed Bishop of Green Bay, he invited Father Ricklin to be chancellor of the diocese, which position he filled until July, 1894, when he was appointed pastor of St. John's Church, Green Bay. On Mar. 13, 1915, he celebrated the forty-second anniversary of his ordination by an address from his sick-bed to the citizens of Green Bay, among whom more than half his life in the priesthood was spent. His death occurred a month later.

Although not coming to the United States until middle life, no native was more enthusiastically proud of our country and its laws than Father Ricklin. He was an American through and through. A cultured scholar and an interested member of this Society, he attended its meetings quite regularly, and spoke before it a number of times on historical subjects.

The death of Mrs. James S. Baker, occurred Mar. 25, 1915, at the home of her daughter, Mrs. Carlton Merrill. Eliza Baird Baker was one of the oldest residents of the State. She was born on the island of Mackinac, Sept. 12, 1825, while her mother was on a visit to the latter's childhood home. She was the oldest daughter of Henry S. Baird, the first lawyer admitted to practice in the then territory of Wisconsin, and a man prominent in territorial and later in State affairs.

Mrs. Baker witnessed the growth of this locality from a wilderness to a populous and progressive city. While not an active worker in this Society, she was deeply interested in it, and her recollections of early times were always most valuable and instructive.

The Society has sustained a very great loss in Mrs. Baker's death.

Arthur C. Neville, *President*

Lafayette County

The annual meeting of the Lafayette County Historical Society was held November 12, 1914, and the old officers were reëlected. Our people congratulate themselves on the progress of the Society, but that is about all they do, for they do not join the membership nor attend the meetings. The Museum has perhaps the best collection of the Stone Age of any county in the Northwest. It includes arrow points, spear points, mauls, stone celts, potsherds, wedges, war clubs, grooved stones and axes, knives, rejects, flint scrapers, smoothers and polishers, spalls, sinkers, gorgets, flint flakes, disks, birdstones, whetstones, ornaments, ceremonial stones, pottery vessels, and other objects—several thousand in all.

About sixty books and pamphlets have been added to the library. Since our last report, we have received the flag presented to Company H, Third Wisconsin Infantry, by the ladies of Darlington, during the Civil War; the army saddle used by Col. G. W. Stevenson, from 1861 to 1865; shell and solid shot fired at the Union Army during the battle of Shiloh; pictures of nine early settlers; ancient flatiron, used before there were stoves or electricity; and early newspapers, Indian relics, and other gifts. A record of gifts to the Society is being kept, with the names of the donors, and will be put in permanent form.

P. H. Conley, *President*

Sauk County

While the Sauk County Historical Society had but three regular gatherings during the past year they were of a varied nature and well attended, and the exhibit by members of the Society and others in the historical department of the Sauk County Fair formed one of the most interesting displays at this annual show.

The annual meeting of the Society was held on December 8, 1914, and the officers of the previous year were reëlected as follows: H. E. Cole of Baraboo, president; Mrs. J. G. Train, Baraboo, George J. Seamans, Reedsburg, and E. D. Oschner, Prairie

du Sac, vice-presidents; H. K. Page, Baraboo, secretary; Mrs. E. V. Alexander, Baraboo, treasurer. At this meeting, which was held in the courthouse, Dr. M. M. Quaife, superintendent of the State Historical Society, gave an address entitled "The Work of the Local Historical Society," in which it was shown that the teaching of history and the cultivation of patriotism were closely related. His talk was greatly appreciated by the members of the Society and a number of visitors.

The second gathering of the members of the Society was in the nature of an indoor picnic and occurred at the home of former Senator and Mrs. Frank Avery on Tuesday evening, April 13, 1915. A picnic supper under the supervision of a competent committee was enjoyed by the large number present and this was followed by the reading of several papers on historical subjects.

Seldom has there been written in the annals of the Society a more pleasant event than the annual summer gathering on Thursday, July 22, 1915, at the cottage of former Mayor and Mrs. E. G. Marriott at Devils Lake State Park, which constituted the third meeting of the year. Dinner was served to over eighty and this appetizing affair was followed by an address by Dr. A. C. Trowbridge of the University of Iowa. The speaker has been coming to this locality since 1905 with classes in geology and is thoroughly familiar with the surface of the Baraboo Valley. He took for his subject "Geographic Influences in Sauk County History." Mr. Trowbridge said that he knew little of the recent history of the county but had read in rocks what had transpired ages ago. He told of the soil, topography, rocks, and climate and what these have to do for the life of those now residing here. His interesting address was listened to eagerly both by the members of the Society and by many visitors some of whom were from out of town.

Several new members have been added during the past year and the Society continues in a healthy condition.

HARLAN K. PAGE, *Secretary*

Superior

The following communications, of interest to those engaged in historical work in the State, have been received, in lieu of a formal report, from James Bardon, president of the Society.

About a year ago at the request of the president of the Superior Historical Society, the Chamber of Commerce of this city adopted and laid before the city council the following resolution:

Resolved: That the Chamber of Commerce of the city of Superior hereby petitions the Common Council of said city to acquire title to the westerly half of the block bounded by West First and West Second streets, and by Carlton and Walbridge avenues, in Superior, being designated on the plat of Superior as lots numbered 417 to 441 odd numbers inclusive, in all sixteen lots, and to lay out and dedicate the same to the use of the public as a park, to be known as Stockade Park.

The ground above described is within the site of the stockade erected in 1862 for the protection and defense of the people living in Superior and its vicinity, numbering about 400 souls, against an apprehended rising or attack of the Indians hereabout during the cruel Sioux Indian War then raging in Minnesota, less than 200 miles away. In this period fear of the Indians was general in all parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota. At that time hundreds of farms were temporarily abandoned, the occupants moving into the cities and towns for safety.

The stockade was built and guarded by residents of Superior organized as a State militia company, known as the Douglas County Guards, aided by a company of regular soldiers of the Eighteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry, who, having been taken prisoners at the battle of Shiloh, in Tennessee, had been returned to Wisconsin under parole, awaiting exchange.

The state of Wisconsin supplied the "Home Guards," as the company was locally known, with rifles, ammunition, accoutrements, also with two cannons.

The stockade was built of pine and tamarack logs standing on end in trenches, and enclosed an area of about four acres.

On several occasions when danger seemed imminent, all the women and children were ordered to spend the night within its walls, while the men, constantly carrying arms, patrolled the highways and stood guard in and around the fort. Nearly all the men, as well as the boys over fifteen years of age, residing here in 1862 became members of the Guards. Among them were Washington Ashton, M. S. Bright, Ethan C. Clarke, H. W. Shaw, James Collier, George F. Holcomb, William Kimball, R. G. Coburn, John Collins, Anthony Gallagher, Louis Movissette, Charles Fregeau, I. W. Gates, Lars Lenroot, Thomas Clark, August Zachau, Andrew Soderland, Thomas Garriety, Robert B. McLean, John B. Lafave, George L. Brooks, James Bardon, Richard Relf, now of St. Paul, and Thomas Bardon of Ashland. The last seven named are living survivors.

At the conclusion of the Sioux War, after some two years of fighting, and by the hanging of thirty-eight Indians at one time on a single scaffold, at Mankato, Minnesota, the Home Guards disbanded, and the walls of the stockade for a long time furnished free firewood for the inhabitants of Superior.

The preservation of the site of the old stockade, and its dedication to a public purpose, would appropriately keep alive the memory of the most noteworthy event in the early history of Superior, arising only ten years after the first marks of settlement here by white men.

And further, there is no park in that part of the city. The small park here proposed this Chamber feels sure would be appreciated highly, especially by people living in the vicinity of the old stockade site.

The three members of the council have expressed themselves as favorable to the proposal contained in the resolution, and it is hoped that steps will soon be taken looking to the acquisition of the property, the cost of which should not exceed $200 a lot.

Prior to its recent adjournment Congress, with humanitarian spirit, on the recommendation of the government agent for the Indians of this section, authorized the removal of the bodies of some 300 Indians, now buried on Wisconsin Point, to the established cemeteries of the city. The present burial place of the Indians is a small tract of land owned by the United States Steel Company, which intends to use it for railway purposes. Nevertheless a considerable number of persons of Indian blood are making a determined fight against the removal, claiming ownership of the land through the fact of uncontested occupation of it during the past half century or longer.

JAMES BARDON, *President*

Trempealeau County, 1914

The following report was received December 16, 1914, too late for inclusion in the *Proceedings* of the Society for 1914:

The only gathering of the Trempealeau County Historical Society was the annual meeting, held at Whitehall, November 10, 1914. Ninety-seven members were present and the meeting was well attended by citizens from the village and the surrounding country. The leading feature of the meeting was the address of Judge G. M. Perry of Black River Falls, who was born on the south bank of Black River more than sixty-six years ago. From

his varied experiences as woodsman, riverman, soldier, lawyer, and judge he is well qualified to depict all our leading institutions from the beginning of the white man's dominion over this region.

A valuable paper on the "Early Settlement of Trempealeau Prairie" was read by N. H. Carhart, who has been for more than fifty years a resident of that part of our country. Still another interesting paper was given by W. E. Bishop, on "The Beginning of the Village of Arcadia."

The secretary of the Society then read a "Roll-call of Some Whitehall Pioneers," a series of character sketches.

Memorials of the following deceased members of the Society were read or announced by title: Antoine Grignon, D. J. Holcomb, James Hopkins, Herman Haberton, Iver Pederson, E. J. Brovald, M. F. Whitney, and Ole Granberg.

A motion to place a marker on the grave of Antoine Grignon was adopted.

During the year about fifty historical relics, thirty portraits of pioneers, and twenty sketches of various kinds have been added to our collection. With one exception complete files of all local newspapers have been contributed by the publishers, and the present indications are that this will become a permanent custom. This will constitute a more valuable asset to the Society than is at present realized.

The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Alexander A. Arnold, president; M. J. Warner, James N. Hunter, and E. J. Matchett, vice-presidents; Frank C. Richmond, treasurer; E. F. Hensel, J. A. Markham, and P. H. Johnson, advisory committee; H. A. Anderson, secretary.

The interest in the work of the Society seems to be growing and if the people of Jackson County will organize a similar Society a new stimulus will be added to increase interest in the work of rescuing valuable historical data and relics from passing beyond our reach.

H. A. Anderson, *Secretary*

Trempealeau County, 1915

The annual and only meeting of the Trempealeau County Historical Society was held at Whitehall, November 9, 1915.

After the reading of the secretary's report, a short literary program was given. Music by the Whitehall Ladies' Band, was followed by selections from the diary of Francis W. E. Ingalls, one of the early settlers in Trempealeau Valley. The diary covers parts of the years 1857 and 1858. A paper on "The Early Settlement of Trempealeau and Vicinity," was read by Andrew R. Carhart. B. A. Gipple, editor of the Galesville *Republican*, and Rev. Charles E. Freeman then paid a splendid tribute to the memory of Capt. Alexander A. Arnold. Captain Arnold was the president of our Society from the time of its organization until his death. Hon. James O'Neill of Neillsville, Wisconsin, was expected to address the meeting on some appropriate topic, but on account of pressing court duties was unable to do so.

The following officers of the Society were elected at the meeting: James N. Hunter, president; Edward J. Matchett and E. F. Clark, vice-presidents; Frank C. Richmond, treasurer; H. A. Anderson, secretary; E. F. Hensel, John A. Markham, and P. H. Johnson, advisory committee.

The secretary's report indicated that during the year ending November 9, 1915, the Society had been the recipient of numerous gifts, including books, manuscripts, coins, photographs, and other objects of local historical interest. A partial list of these accessions, enumerating some of the more interesting items, follows:

Twenty-two pictures of early settlers, historical places, and buildings.

The Woodman, a book of poems written by S. S. Luce, one of the early settlers of Galesville.

An account, by J. R. Ogden of Black River Falls, of the flag presented by the women of Galesville to Company C, Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry, when the regiment was about to leave for the front. The flag, which was carried through the war, is now in the possession of the Society.

A narrative of life among the Chippewa Indians of northern Wisconsin, 1852–53, written by J. D. Olds, for many years a resident of Trempealeau County.

An account of the archeological resources of western Wisconsin, written by G. H. Squier, of Trempealeau.

Reminiscences of a pioneer teacher, by Miss Mary Brandenburg, of Trempealeau.

Treasurer's account book of Grange No. 272, once a flourishing society of the Patrons of Husbandry, at Hale, Trempealeau County.

Diary of Francis W. Ingalls.

Minute book of the "Pigeon Creek Sentinels," a literary society which flourished from 1876 to 1891.

Two blueberry rakes, made by D. S. Watson, an early settler of Hale, Trempealeau County.

Warming pan, brought from England by the Markhams, sixty years ago.

Watch, made in Liverpool over 100 years ago.

Butcher knife, made in Prussia in 1796.

Two Indian stone war clubs; tomahawk made of steel; mask used at ghost dances; pipe in form of a tomahawk; Indian drum and drumstick.

The Society preserves the files of all but one of the newspapers published in the county. Through its efforts a granite marker has been placed on the long-neglected grave of James Reed, Trempealeau County's first settler.

H. A. Anderson, *Secretary*

Walworth County

The Society has sustained a serious loss in the death at his home in Elkhorn, July 6, 1915, of its president, Albert Clayton Beckwith. Within a few months he would have rounded out four score years. He was an active member of the State Historical Society and the promoter and very life of the county organization. Mr. Beckwith in his time had "played many parts." As soldier, editor, postmaster, historian, and citizen, he brought to the positions ability, honor, and credit. Probably his best-

known literary work is his *History of Walworth County*, published in 1912, which for outline, detail, research, and correctness is much superior to the usual type of county history. His genealogical pamphlets made him better known in the East than here at home, and he was a member of the New England Genealogical Society. He has left to the local Historical Society a vast amount of data that in years to come must prove of priceless value. He was the instigator of the Elkhorn Public Library, and from the very beginning has been its active head. Mr. Beckwith's scholarly attainments made him one of the most interesting of men, but he was quiet and unassuming in a marked degree. He leaves two daughters, Misses Constance and Mabel, both residents of Elkhorn.

At a recent meeting of the Society the following officers were elected: Hon. Jay F. Lyon, president; Grant D. Harrington, corresponding secretary; Dr. Edward Kinne, recording secretary; Harley C. Norris, treasurer.

Resolutions on the death of the following members were adopted and ordered spread upon the minutes: Albert C. Beckwith, Elkhorn; Orland Carswell, Elkhorn; Washington S. Keats, East Troy; Carlos S. Douglass, Walworth; Julian M. Carey, Genoa Junction.

The officers were requested to arrange for a Society banquet sometime in January, and to secure a suitable speaker for the occasion.

GRANT D. HARRINGTON, *Corresponding Secretary*

Waukesha County

Two meetings of the Society were held during the year.

The ninth annual meeting was held May 1, 1915, at the Congregational church, Waukesha. Reports of the treasurer, Mrs. M. Kartak, and the custodian, J. H. A. Lacher, were read and approved. F. B. Jacques reported on the work done on Cushing Memorial Park and O. P. Clinton announced that the dedication of the Cushing Monument would occur on Memorial Day, May 31.

A rising vote of thanks was tendered Mr. Lacher for his good work in making and arranging the collections of the Society. A resolution of sorrow at the loss of three members, Judge F. H. Putney, Henry O. Putney, and Rolland L. Porter, first president of the Society, was presented by Mrs. H. B. Edwards and adopted by a rising vote. Three honorary and nine active members were elected; all the officers of the Society were reëlected by acclamation.

The principal feature of the literary program was a paper by Prof. Grant Showerman, of the University of Wisconsin, on "The Old Sugar Bush." It appealed strongly to his old friends and neighbors in Brookfield, where the sugar bush was located. Mrs. Kunz and Mrs. Holt of Delafield sang "Flow Gently Sweet Afton," and "Coming Thro' the Rye." All our meetings are opened by singing "Auld Lang Syne," and closed with "America."

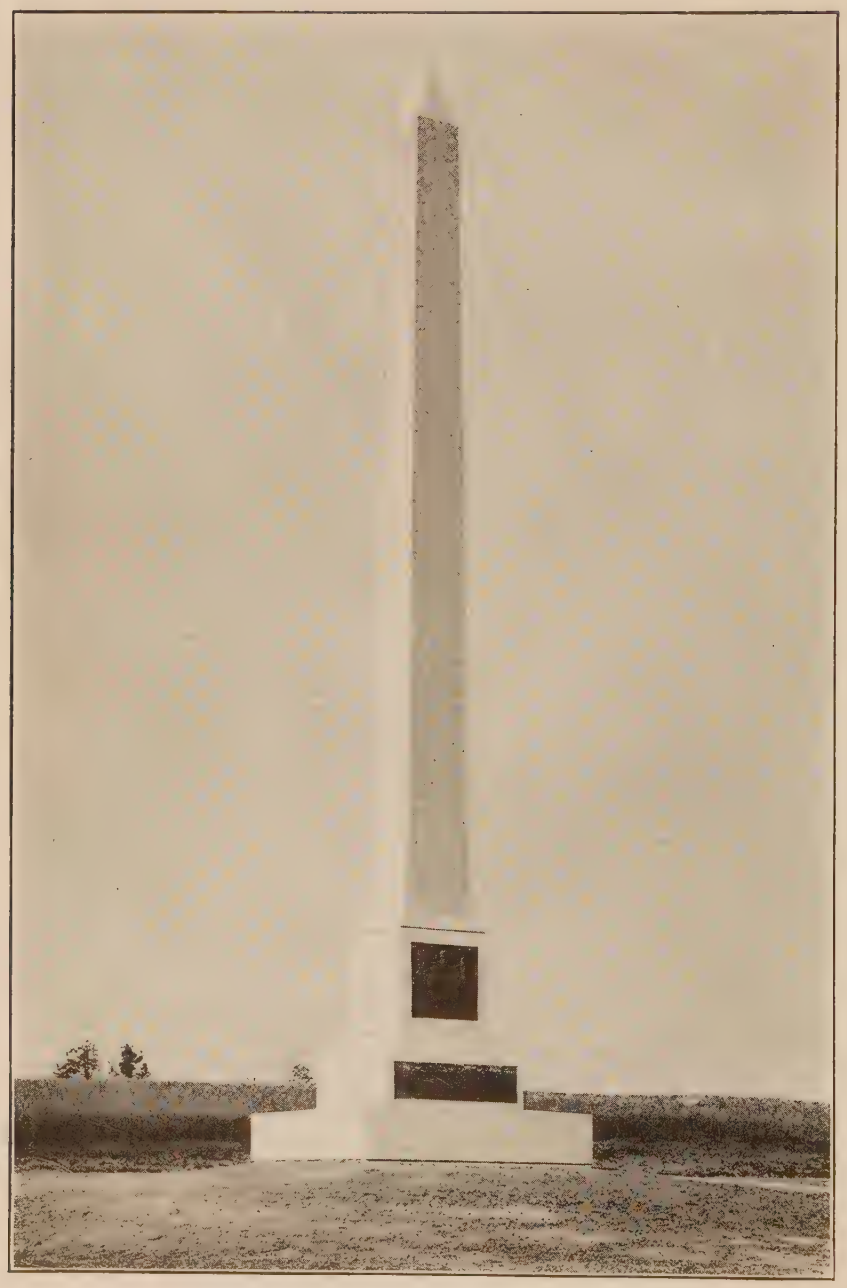
The eighteenth meeting of the Society was held September 3, on the lawn of Dr. H. G. B. Nixon's home in Hartland.

A letter from Charles E. Brown, secretary of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, concerning the preservation of some fine effigy mounds in the town of Summit, was read. The president appointed a committee of three, Dr. F. C. Rogers, G. B. Rhoads, and Mrs. G. W. Carleton, to interview Col. Fred Pabst in regard to the matter. O. P. Clinton announced that a gift of $500 to the Cushing Memorial Fund had been made; the donor gave it in memory of his "patriotic Wisconsin mother." Mr. Lacher, custodian of the Society's collections, asked for contributions of pictures, documents, and other objects of historical interest.

The following literary program was rendered:

Early Church History of Hartland and Vicinity, by Charles D. Simonds.
The Swedish Colony on Pine Lake, by Miss Mabel V. Hanson.
"The Last Rose of Summer," by Miss Edythe Beaumont.
Reminiscences of Early Teachers, by Miss Zilpha Swallow.
Indian Names and Sayings and their Meanings, by Charles D. Simonds.
Early Days in Hartland, by Mrs. Margaret Nuttall.

An interesting collection of articles of historic interest was exhibited and refreshments served by the ladies of Hartland. A rising vote of thanks was given to all who had done so much for the success of the meeting.



The Cushing Monument

Reports of Local Auxiliaries

Since the dedication of the Cushing Monument, May 31, 1915, occurred under the auspices of the Society, an account of the exercises may appropriately be included in this report. The description which follows is taken from a report published in the Milwaukee *Free Press:*

Waukesha County today [May 31] honored three of its foremost heroes—the Cushing brothers, William B., Alonzo H., Howard B.—by the unveiling of a shaft in their honor on the old Cushing homestead here, which, at the same time, was dedicated as a public park.

Most fitting in the dedication was the unveiling of the monument by Miss Catherine Cushing, the daughter of the one who attained perhaps the most signal honor of the Civil War, Lieut.-Com. William B. Cushing, who practically single-handed sunk the Confederate ironclad ram, Albemarle.

Present also were Mrs. William B. Cushing, widow of the naval commander, and Miss Marie Cushing, another daughter, who now live in Fredonia, New York.

It was a fitting setting for such an event. On the platform in front of the granite monument with the speakers were many gray-haired veterans of the Civil War, men who had fought side by side with all three of the famous Cushing brothers. Ranged around were wives and widows of veterans. In the background, in military uniforms, were three companies of St. John's Military Academy cadets.

Congressman H. A. Cooper, Racine, told of the deeds of the Cushing brothers. He spoke first of the work of William Cushing, who at eighteen, was put in command of the prize ship, Pioneer, the youngest man in the history of the United States navy to attain such an honor, and who later distinguished himself in the blowing up of the Albemarle so greatly that his name was mentioned in the message of President Abraham Lincoln.

Graphically he pictured Lieut.-Col. Alonzo H. Cushing, shot through both hips in the battle of Gettysburg, just as General Pickett ended his famous charge, refusing to leave the battlefield until this one last fight was over, gallantly holding the guns in the "bloody corner" which decided the fate of Gettysburg and was the turning point of the Civil War, shot again in the chest, but sticking to the guns, and falling finally in the hand to hand clash with a bullet in his brain.

Mr. Cooper went into the desert plains of Arizona with the third brother, Howard B., in command of a troop fighting the dreaded Apaches and who there lost his life in a hand to hand conflict with the Indians.

JULIA A. LAPHAM, *Secretary*

Historical Papers

Contributors of Historical Papers

Gaillard Hunt, Litt. D., LL. D. ("The President of the United States"), has been since 1909 chief of the division of manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Prior to his acceptance of this office he was for nearly a decade head of the bureau of citizenship in the Department of State. As editor of the *Writings of James Madison* and author of his *Life*, as well as editor or author of numerous other works, Doctor Hunt has long held an enviable position in the ranks of living American historical scholars.

Dr. William F. Whyte ("The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County"), is at present a resident of Madison and president of the State Board of Health. He writes of the community in the vicinity of which for a generation he lived and pursued the calling of medicine. Doctor Whyte expects to contribute in the near future another study dealing with the history of the locality in which his more active life was spent.

Two of the three joint authors of the paper ("Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau"), are old contributors to the Society's publications. A brief note of characterization of Dr. Eben D. Pierce was given in the *Proceedings* of the Society a year ago in connection with the historical papers then published. George H. Squier, Doctor Pierce's fellow-townsman, has long been interested in Wisconsin archeology. Dr. Louise P. Kellogg, who contributes the historical sketch, has been for many years senior research assistant on the Society's staff.

Eugene E. Prussing ("Chicago's First Great Lawsuit"), is a long-time resident of Chicago, and a leading member of the bar of the city in which he lives.

Hjalmar R. Holand ("A Forgotten Community: A Record of Rock Island, the Threshold of Wisconsin"), is a farmer and

fruit-grower of Door County, for whom historical study constitutes an active avocation. He contributed an article on "Nils Otto Tank" to the Society's *Proceedings* for 1908. He is the author of a volume on the Norwegians of the Northwest and of several historical articles in periodicals and magazines.

Orpha E. Leavitt ("British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782–92: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State"), is a resident of Madison, whose attention was attracted to this subject in the course of her university studies. The article here published is condensed from a longer and more comprehensive study, as yet unpublished, which the author has made.

Dr. Milo M. Quaife ("Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal—and Others"), is superintendent of the Society, and editor of its publications.

The President of the United States

By Gaillard Hunt

1

"What sort of government is that of the United States?" asked Napoleon of Baron Humboldt when the Baron returned from America in 1804.

"One, Sire, that is neither seen nor felt," was the answer.

Go into a railway car, and, if the travelers are of the usual order, you will not find one who can tell you the names of the members of the president's cabinet. When I was in charge of the exhibit of the Department of State in the Government Building at the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893, I was constantly asked by perfectly respectable people to what state the exhibit belonged. They knew of the existence of the Treasury Department because of the money and of the Post Office Department from the mail, and, of course, they knew something of the army and navy, but, in the main, the national government was a sealed book to them. They lived comfortably and patriotically without seeing or feeling it; indeed, their comfort and patriotism were due partly to the fact that they did not see it or feel it. Perhaps the average citizen of the present day gives less attention to the national government than the average citizen gave to it when it first began to operate. If this is so, it is because the government is now a settled thing and it was then an experiment which everybody was watching; but there never was a time when the rank and file of citizens knew much about its operations. This ignorance is accounted for by the conclusive reason that it has not been necessary for them to know. Nevertheless, the government has been a greater factor in developing the national character than it would have been if it had laid its strong hand upon every citizen every day. Its influence has come from the things it has

not done. It has allowed nature to do her own work without harmful interference. After all the boasting of our power nature effectually controls us. She will give a great destiny to a country where the land is abundant and rich and the climate healthful and invigorating, if the people have sound traditions and are not cramped in their expansion by too many laws.

There is one feature of the government, however, of which no one is ignorant and which has exerted positive influence upon the development of the national character. The people in the railway car all know that the president of the United States is Woodrow Wilson, and the thousands of people who looked with uncomprehending eyes upon the sign "Department of State" at the World's Fair all knew that there was a president and that his name was Grover Cleveland. There never has been a time, even when the president was commonplace or an unpopular man, when it was possible to find any American who was old enough to know anything and did not know who he was. This common knowledge binds the people together. It is national and popular; it pervades all classes and all sections. The incumbent of the presidency is the one national officer for whom or against whom every voter has voted; consequently, all of them have a feeling of property in him. Yet no divinity doth hedge him, and he has never given rise to a feeling such as the ordinary Englishman used to have for his king. It is impossible to picture an American innkeeper, for example, defining the president in the spirit of John Willet's description of a prince in Barnaby Rudge:

> "Did you ever hear tell of mermaids, sir?" said Mr. Willet.
> "Certainly I have," replied the clerk.
> "Very good," said Mr. Willet. "According to the constitution of mermaids, so much of a mermaid as is not a woman must be a fish. According to the constitution of young princes, so much of a young prince (if any thing) as is not actually an angel, must be godly and righteous."

Nevertheless, without supposing him to be an angel or even always godly and righteous, the Americans have shown that they are well satisfied with that provision of their government which gives them a president. Upwards of two thousand amendments have been proposed to the Constitution from time to time, as evidence of passing discontent with its various features, and fewer

of them have been directed against the functions of the president than against any other important feature.

The purpose of this lecture is to show how the office became what it is and the effect it has had upon the growth of American nationality.

II

In 1765, twenty-three years before the Constitution of the United States was adopted, Sir William Blackstone published his great work on precedent, which he called *Commentaries on the Laws of England.* "The doctrine of the law then is this:" he said, "that precedents and rules must be followed, unless flatly absurd or unjust." But precedent and rules seldom seemed absurd or unjust to him; the laws of England were the very acme of human wisdom in his eyes, and to prove this point he directed his argument. Thus it was that, writing about the harmony of human customs, he reached the same safe harbor of conclusion as Alexander Pope, in his poem on the harmony of the moral law, which he called an *Essay on Man:*

> All nature is but art, unknown to thee;
> All chance, direction, which thou canst not see;
> All discord, harmony not understood;
> All partial evil, universal good:
> And spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,
> One truth is clear, Whatever is, is right.

Blackstone was treating of a body of laws based upon customs which had prevailed for so long a time that the memory of man ran not to the contrary. He was expounding a constitution of government which had come slowly and gradually, every feature of it anchored firmly by prolonged acceptance. It had come out of more than five centuries of national life.

What would he have said, if he had been called upon to comment upon a constitution of government which had been made in four months? How would he have approached a fundamental law which had had no infancy, but had sprung full-grown from the brains of those who made it, as Minerva came from the head of Jupiter? Reasoning, as he did, from the established precedent, he would have been confounded by this unorthodox statute; his whole system of

logic would have stood helpless in its presence. Yet, there it was—seven articles, twenty-one sections, about one hundred paragraphs; ratified and accepted as the supreme law of the land after a debate of only eight months' duration; entrusted to twenty-two senators, sixty representatives and one executive to construe and put into operation.

How were they to construe it? The science of Blackstone availed them nothing. Here were no court decisions, no luminous expositions and learned commentaries accepted as authority to guide them. Nor could they explore the intentions of the makers of the law, for the makers had sat behind closed doors, and their debates were not published till fifty years after they had taken place. The Constitution was really at the mercy of those who put it into operation.

They had listened to the exposition of its making which had been given during the brief period that elapsed between the close of the Convention which framed it and the ratification. Especially, they had listened to the exposition of *The Federalist*, a series of papers known to have been written for the most part by two prominent members of the Convention and to be worthy of serious attention; but even *The Federalist* only gave the opinions of the writers; there was nothing definitive about it. Alexander Hamilton wrote the numbers which reviewed the office of the presidency, and, among other things, said that the president's veto power over acts of Congress would hardly ever be used. He drew an analogy between this power and the right of the king of England to disapprove acts of Parliament, which had not been exercised for more than a century. He said that the participation of the Senate in making treaties was concurrent with the power of the president to make treaties. He meant that the two would work together in drawing up treaties, and that the Senate must finally consent to them. He said, also, that the consent of the Senate would be necessary to the displacement as well as to the appointment of officers of government. Evidently, he conceived of the Senate as having a participation in federal patronage equal with that of the president. He thought that the executive duties of the Senate would require it to be in session often when the House was not in session. He had it in his mind as an executive council constantly advising the president. He did not prognosticate such an office

as the presidency became immediately after the government began.

Nor was there any profit to those who were intrusted with the duty of putting the government into operation in examining the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of other governments, for conditions in foreign countries were entirely different from conditions here. They derived some assistance from their own experience, however. They had lived as colonists under the British crown; they had had state governments; they had had a confederated general government. The confederated government had been wholly a congress, and all of the states had legislatures of two chambers, except Pennsylvania which had one chamber. Therefore, the duties of a congress were fairly well understood. The judiciary, too, was not wholly a new invention, because all the states had supreme courts, and, during the Revolution, there had been a federal court of appeals in cases of capture on water. Moreover, a court could proceed deliberately, feeling its way, meeting each case as it arose, listening to exhaustive arguments before it reached a decision. A presiding officer over the government was a familiar idea, also, and the title of president was not a novelty. Joseph Galloway's plan of a continental government introduced in the Continental Congress of 1774 included a president general. The Continental Congress had a presiding officer called "the President of the United States in Congress Assembled." In Delaware, New Hampshire, and Pennsylvania the chief executive officer was called the president. But Galloway's president general was to be appointed by the king and to have a council chosen by the people; the president of Congress had no power greater than any other member, and the chief magistrates of the states all had councils, which they did not select themselves, to share their power and responsibility. In the Constitutional Convention, James Madison correctly described them as being little more than cyphers. As a matter of fact, therefore, the precedents with reference to the presidential office had very little influence in developing the powers of that office.

Let us examine the intention of the makers of the Constitution with reference to the presidency, ascertaining it by the revelations of later years. When they began their deliberations they had not intended to make the office one of overweening im-

portance. The Virginia plan had proposed that there should be a national executive to execute the laws, but the judiciary was to be associated with it in reviewing state and national legislation. The Jersey plan contemplated a plural executive with no power over foreign affairs. Hamilton's outline, however, suggested a chief executive with powers such as the president afterwards assumed. He was to have a negative on all laws about to be passed, the power to make treaties with the advice and consent of the Senate, absolute power of appointment of the heads of departments and power of nominating all other officers to the Senate. But he was to hold office for life, and the plan found no supporters in the Convention. After three months of debate, it was agreed that the Senate should have the treaty-making power and the appointment of ambassadors and judges. A change of feeling towards the presidency came in the latter days of the Convention, induced, doubtless, by a realization that the Senate was being given too much power. Unwilling to trust it with unrestricted power over appointments to office and the conduct of foreign affairs, these functions were given in large part to the president; unwilling to trust them wholly to the president the Senate was put in surveillance over his exercise of them. As the article providing for the president was finally framed it gave him too much power in the opinion of at least two of the three members of the Convention who refused to sign the Constitution. George Mason thought his duties were too loosely defined and that he ought to have a council, and Edmund Randolph was unwilling to entrust the executive authority to one man and wanted a commission.

Outside of the members of the Convention, those who criticized the Constitution always criticized the provision for the president. Thomas Jefferson, for example, said that his elegibility to reëlection might result in one man holding the office for life and attempting to name his own successor.

That part of the Constitution which provided for a president defined his duties briefly. He must be the commander-in-chief of the army and navy; he might, if he chose, ask the opinions of the heads of departments on questions relating to the business of their offices; he was to make treaties by and with the advice and consent of the Senate; subject to the same restrictions he must

appoint all the higher officers of government; he must give Congress information of the state of the Union and make recommendations to it; he could approve or disapprove bills; he must execute the laws. Taking the office as thus described, construing its duties in the light of the experience which lay back of it and such explanations of it as had been made, and especially the explanation in *The Federalist*, giving weight to the objections to it which well-meaning men had expressed, let us see what the first president could have made of it.

Under the right to ask for the opinions of heads of departments, he could have put the weight of responsibility for executive acts upon them, by making public their opinions and being guided by them. As they were appointed upon the advice and consent of the Senate, he could have made the Senate responsible for their selection by asking its advice in advance of the selection. They would then have been like the executive councils of the states. He could have made the Senate the chief agency in all appointments, thus avoiding that part of his duties which would surely involve the greatest personal embarrassment to him and would surely arouse the greatest personal enmity towards him. He could have made himself the mere agent of the Senate in the conduct of foreign affairs by consulting it before he acted. He was the head of the army and navy, it is true, but he was not expected to exercise command in person, and Congress had complete control over the size of the military establishment and might reduce it to nothing if it chose to do so. Moreover, the authority to declare war was reserved exclusively to Congress, and this gave it control over the army and navy for the main purpose of their existence. His messages and recommendations to Congress could be as brief and perfunctory as he might choose to make them. He was not obliged to veto bills he disapproved, nor even to agree to those he approved, but might allow them to become laws ten days after Congress passed them without any action on his part. If he had taken this limited view of his powers and had made himself a mere presiding officer over the government, he would not have antagonized the friends of the Constitution and he would have conciliated many of its opponents.

Let us see what he did. Consultation of the heads of departments he made an internal arrangement of his office. He did

not make public their opinions, and he adopted or rejected them as he chose. He took the whole responsibility for executive acts. Upon the Senate he put the responsibility only of confirming or rejecting the nominations to office which he made. He did not consult it before he made the nominations. Under the leadership of Madison the House of Representatives determined that he had power to remove public officials without consulting the Senate. In the conduct of foreign affairs, as in appointments to office, he construed the Senate's power to extend to approving or disapproving what he did and he allowed it no participation in doing it. The "advice and consent" of the Senate he construed as meaning merely the knowledge and confirmation of his acts by that body. His messages at the opening of each session of Congress were programs of the legislation which he thought Congress ought to pass. He inspected each bill before he permitted it to become a law, and three years after he had been in office he returned a bill to Congress with a statement of the reasons why it ought not to become a law. All of these things he did soon after he had settled in his office and had had opportunity to study his duties and to receive advice concerning them. Like everybody else, when he first assumed office, he was in doubt about the powers which belonged to it.

Immediately after the Constitutional Convention adjourned, Madison described the Senate as "the great anchor of the government." It was generally believed, as Hamilton had said in *The Federalist*, that it would be in session nearly all the time and that the president would consult it in person. The picture was in men's minds of the president and Senate sitting together on executive business. Many of the senators thought that the president should make his nominations to office orally to the assembled Senate, and that the Senate should then and there say "Yes" or "No" to them. Washington, himself, told a committee of the Senate on August 10, 1789, that the Senate was a council to the president in the matter of appointments and treaties. He thought he and they could consult sometimes in the president's house and sometimes in the Senate chamber. Before he had been elected president he gave it as his view that appointments to office might be left to the heads of the departments, or, perhaps referred to the governors of the states. He entered upon his

office with no definite preconceived notions concerning it. He had presided over the Constitutional Convention and knew as well as any man what it had meant to do. The fact that he did not know what the president was expected to do is fair proof that the Convention did not itself know. The belief that the Senate would be the most important part of the new government was general, and, in consequence, the most influential men sought election to that body. It opened with a great array of influential public men. Oliver Ellsworth, Charles Carroll, Rufus King, Robert Morris, Richard Henry Lee and others of equal importance were among the members. Unhappily for its prestige and power, it began its career by making a serious blunder, which showed that it had not correctly estimated the force which was destined to have more influence upon the government than any other. It seemed to think, in fact, that it would make itself the most powerful part of the government by placing itself beyond the reach of that force. So it sat behind closed doors, and public opinion could not influence its proceedings. The people, however, not knowing what it was doing, became suspicious that it was plotting against them. In the effort to protect itself against the influence of their applause or censure it received only the censure. As a consequence, the able men who sat in it found themselves neglected and their influence diminishing. Ellsworth, Carroll, Lee and several others resigned before their terms expired, and the personnel of the Senate deteriorated in importance. The House of Representatives, on the other hand, held open sessions and caught the attention of the country. It was given credit for the legislation which started the government, and from it came the leadership which shaped public policies.

Thus it was shown in the beginning that there was such a thing as national public opinion in America. It had existed during the Revolution; in fact, the war could not have been carried through without it. It had an outlet then in the Continental Army, with officers and soldiers coming from all parts of the country and a commander-in-chief over the whole. After the peace it almost disappeared. The common purpose which had called it into being had been accomplished, and the civil government of the continent was more calculated to stifle than to invigorate it. In Congress, the votes were by states; the

individual delegates were subordinated to the states; the debates were not published, and no man could make a continental reputation by continental service. In the period between the Revolution and the Constitution no continental characters were produced.

One manifestation of the existence of national public opinion which the Revolution brought out was the demand for a national hero, and the insistence that George Washington should play that part was general. The cold light of history has shown that the contemporaneous estimate of him was correct, but a hero America would have had, even if it had been obliged to make one out of second-rate material.

In the course of a conversation, during the closing years of his life, Madison said that the basis of Washington's power during the Revolution was the perfect confidence everybody had in his "incorruptibility." If that confidence had been shaken, he said, General Greene would have been put in his place. The conviction of his incorruptibility was a sentiment which bound the continent together. It was felt as strongly by the people of Georgia and Massachusetts as it was by the Virginians.

To return for a moment to the intention of the makers of the Constitution with respect to the president, it should be remarked that the leading minds wished him to be a representative of the people of the whole country and that this was almost the only definite idea they had concerning the office. Gouverneur Morris said he ought to be given sufficient vigor to pervade every part of the Union, so as to preserve it, and that he must be "the general guardian of the national interests." Madison said he must act for the people, not for the states. Randolph, who wanted a plural executive, nevertheless said it must be chosen in such a manner as to secure the confidence of the people. John Rutledge suggested that the title of the executive should be "Governor of the United People and States of America." James Wilson, George Mason, and several other members wanted him elected directly by the people. The employment of special electors, as the only intermediary between the office and direct popular election, approached popular election and seemed to avoid its supposed dangers. It brought the president very close

to the people. It swept aside the state governments as barriers between him and them.

There was never a question of who should be chosen to be the first president. This was a national office and the national hero must fill it. Thus the presidential office began operations, supported by public confidence. The other parts of the new government must prove themselves, but George Washington had already proved himself. As soon as the Constitution was ratified Hamilton and Madison told Washington that his service as the first president would be essential to the successful inauguration of the new government.

He distrusted his own capacity to preside over the government, however. After he had served for three years he had a frank conversation with Madison in which he disclosed what he considered to be his deficiencies. He then revealed the doubts of his equipment which had worried him before his election. He said he was not a lawyer and could not judge legal questions, that he was not trained in civil government and that he was too sensitive in temperament to consider calmly questions which came before him. So he consulted freely with those who had legal knowledge and were trained in civil affairs. The two with whom he advised most at the beginning of his term were Hamilton and Madison, both then fresh from their joint efforts to have the Constitution ratified, and, as yet, in full agreement in their political views. The nature of the advice which they gave him with reference to the functions of his office is not a matter of doubt. Hamilton's explanation in *The Federalist* of the limited powers of the president and the dependence of the president upon the Senate did not stand in the way of his advising the president to exercise his duties independently. He advised him to exercise them in such a way as to bring the office into as close resemblance as possible to the plan which he had laid before the Constitutional Convention and which he believed to be the best. As Madison explained some years later, Hamilton endeavored to carry the government into channels where he thought it ought to flow, without reference to the arguments which had been used to secure its ratification. Madison's own views on the subject of the office are clearly indicated in a letter he wrote to Edmund Randolph on May 31, 1789. "I think it best,"

he said, "to give the Senate as little agency as possible in Executive matters, and to make the President as responsible as possible in them."

But there was a popular conception of the president's duties. Naturally, it manifested itself with reference to the personal side of the office and the power which the president had to confer the emoluments and the honors of public office. Washington was left in no doubt that the people generally considered him to be the fountain of federal patronage. As soon as the Constitution had been ratified and before he had been elected president, the applications for office began to pour in upon him, it being assumed that he would be the first president, and the solicitations increased after his election. Very few of them were addressed to him and the Senate jointly; nearly all of them were made to him alone.

And this completes our examination of the reasons why the president became in the beginning of the operation of the government an officer of great independent power. There was no definite understanding of the nature of his duties and he was left to construe them for himself. The Senate which might have disputed the independent exercise by him of certain functions was too weak to do so, because it was not supported by public confidence. Those who advised the president with reference to the functions of his office were in favor of a strong, independent executive. Public opinion recognized him as having control of appointments to federal offices. The people recognized the office as their own and put their hero in it and gave it their confidence and support.

III

Probably no feature of the government has had so happy an effect upon the destiny of the country as that part which makes it difficult to add to or change the features of the government. When a demand for amendment emanates from the people generally and becomes fixed, the amendment follows almost automatically, but a passing desire for change, a mere fluctuation in public sentiment, the wish of a bare majority cannot be written into the constitution of government. In consequence, we have realized

the advantages which Blackstone saw in a settled state of things. "Stability in government," he said, "is essential to national character and to the advantages annexed to it, as well as to that repose and confidence in the minds of the people, which are among the chief blessings of civil society."

As we were fortunate in having a government so limited in its field of operation that it did not interfere with our natural development, so were we happy in being able to form our nationality without foreign interference. This nation, at least, is its own work, and has developed without neighbors, allies or enemies to bend it as it grew. The influence which an ally might have had can be guessed by a glance at the effect of our alliance with France. For a time we imitated that country. We became less religious than we had been; we cultivated a confused philosophy concerning liberty which was not congenial to our mental habits; we sang French songs; we wore French pantaloons. If the alliance had lasted after our Revolution, the American character would have been appreciably affected by it. Fortunately, it terminated with the war, and soon there was friction between the two countries, then a breach, and France became unpopular. She is the only ally we have ever had. Our foreign wars since the Revolution have not lasted long and have brought no foreign occupation of American territory, so our English- and Spanish-speaking enemies have made no impression on our character. That an enemy may make such an impression is indicated by our experience with the Indians. The founders of the nation were fighting them constantly, and Indian warfare was a part of the life of the pioneers of the West even up to our day. Many men were obliged to think of Indians incessantly and so came to acquire some of their attributes. It is impossible to study the character of Andrew Jackson, for example, who was only a pronounced example of a type, without seeing in him many of the faults and virtues which Indians were supposed to possess. He harbored revenge; he thought it no sin to hate; he was merciless in his enmity; he looked upon personal courage as the greatest of virtues; but he was mild and hospitable towards his friends and he never forgot a kindness.

Nor has our development been appreciably affected by foreign neighbors; indeed, most of the territory contiguous to ours has been uninhabited. On the northeast boundary is a civilization as

old as ours, and its influence is visible in the region which touches it, but this is only a spot of the country. If a populous Canada had stretched along the whole of our northern frontier we would have seen a decided Canadian influence upon our national growth. On our southern border there have been only a few feeble Spanish-speaking settlements, which have had no appreciable effect on their more virile neighbors.

We have never had any considerable body of foreigners within our borders, retaining alien ideas of government and society, exerting, willfully or unconsciously, foreign influence upon domestic policy and life. Emigrants to this country have always definitely abandoned their foreign nationality and sought admission to membership in the American nation. The instant they are admitted they have the same rights and privileges, and the same obligations and responsibilities, as native-born Americans. One of them cannot be elected president of the United States; that is his only disability; he may hold any other office of honor or power. When a foreigner is naturalized as an American, he is required, not only to swear allegiance to the United States, but to renounce specifically by name the foreign allegiance he is about to throw off. There can be no divided allegiance on his part; he must be wholly American. His naturalization is an espousal, and he must forsake the fatherland or mother country and cleave only unto the new nationality. No foreigners, however, have ever come to this country with the idea of changing it. Their object has always been to change themselves.

The very stability of the government, however, has awakened a suspicion in the minds of many people that we must have outgrown it, and the argument is often advanced that a government which was made for a scattered population of three millions of people, living in a fringe of territory along the seacoast, cannot be suitable to a great continent, one of the largest domains in the world, with a population of nearly a hundred million people. Without stopping to inquire whether the principles of government suitable to a small country are different from the principles suitable to the government of a large country, it should be remarked that for governing purposes the United States was larger in 1789 than it is now. Imagine a scholar of Madison, Wisconsin, going to Nome, Alaska, to lecture before an intellectual audience, to meet

his friends there, to see the historical treasures of the place, to enlarge his knowledge by a visit of a day or two, and then to come back to Madison. It would take him a long time to get to Nome—more than a month certainly—the journey would be expensive, if not actually dangerous, in fact, it would not be feasible for a scholar in Madison to go to Nome to deliver a single lecture and come back. There is very little intercourse between Nome and Madison. Again: imagine a scholar of Georgetown, Maryland, in 1789, when there was no District of Columbia, making a journey to the beautiful lakes in the central part of the territory of Indiana, lecturing there and returning to Georgetown. He could not have done it. Leaving out the fact that there were no people to lecture to, he would have died of the hardships of the journey, or the Indians would have scalped him, or the wolves would have eaten him up. There was no communication between the lakes of Indiana Territory and Georgetown in 1789. Again: imagine a government drudge who takes care of musty old documents, a sort of *valet de manuscrit*, joyfully leaving Washington on Monday afternoon, arriving in Madison on Wednesday, fresh and well fed, in answer to an invitation to lecture extended to him by a gentleman who never heard him before—why, you see him before you! So it seems that Nome and Madison, now so far apart, are nearer to each other than Madison and Washington (neither of which existed) were in 1789, and that Washington and Madison are now alongside of each other. In 1789 the people of South Carolina were not influenced by the thought of Massachusetts; they did not know what it was. It will be recalled that Pierce Butler of South Carolina admitted in the Constitutional Convention that he had come to Philadelphia prejudiced against eastern men. His prejudice was only natural, for probably he had never met a dozen eastern men in his life. The people of the different localities were so far apart, when the Constitution was made, that their interests were strongly localized, and, being different in the different localities, there was much rivalry and jealousy between the localities. It was certainly harder to fit a government to thirteen jealous states and their scattered, factional inhabitants, than it is to make it cover a united people in a fairly compact continent.

We have reached, then, this conclusion: If our government was good for the Americans of 1789, that is no reason why it should not be good for us; and the fact that the government is not easy to change has encouraged steadiness in progress and steady development of national character; the fact that it is limited in its sphere of activity has allowed the development on natural lines; it has been free from alien influences, and we have met our own problems without outside interference.

The result has been that our development has been under the same governmental conditions for an unusually long period of time. The fact is that we now have the oldest government in the world. When our Constitution went into effect the king of England had the chief voice in the government of England. It was some years afterwards that the power which had been his passed finally to the House of Commons. It was in 1832 that the Reform Bill changed the whole theory of representation in the House of Commons. It cannot be contended that the American Constitution has ever undergone such fundamental modifications as the British constitution experienced when the king ceased to govern and the House of Commons became a democratic assemblage. France was a monarchy in 1789; its present constitution is not thirty years old. Spain has a constitution which is not much older. The kingdom of Italy and the empire of Germany were founded after I was born; and so on down the list, even to the semi-Oriental power of Russia, where parliamentary government is now being introduced, and to the Far East where Japan and China have adopted governments of western form.

IV

Dr. Johnson being in savage mood one evening, roared out, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel!" and on several other occasions he expressed a general contempt for "patriots." His remark has been often quoted and nearly always misunderstood; for, at the time he wrote and among his contemporaries, a "patriot" was a man who professed to hold devotion to his country as an obligation higher than devotion to the royal head of his country. One of the definitions of the word given by Dr. Johnson in his dictionary was "a factious disturber of the government."

As he understood it, devotion to the country without devotion to the king was treason. The king and the country were one. I pick up a letter from one official to another in the government of South Carolina in 1736 and it begins: "After a man's duties to God are performed, I think his most grand obligations are to his King and country." When the Vicar of Wakefield gave his blessing to his son, who had just received a commission in the army he said: " 'And now, my boy,' cried I, 'thou art going to fight for thy country, remember how thy brave grandfather fought for his sacred king, when loyalty among Britons was a virtue.' " In paying a tribute to the British constitution, Macaulay said: "In our island the regular course of government has never been for a day interrupted. The few bad men who longed for license and plunder have not had the courage to confront for one moment the strength of a loyal nation, rallied in firm array round a parental throne."

The loyal nation and the parental throne went together; to fight for the sacred king was to fight for the country; a man's grand obligations next to God were to the king and country together.

But in America loyalty has not been understood in the Johnsonian sense since 1776, and patriotism has been wholly disassociated from the idea of a personal tie since Dr. Johnson's "scoundrels" triumphed in 1783. Here it has meant simply love of "that abstract conception, one's country," and has been looked upon as the first of civic virtues. No public man has ever admitted that his public action had any other than a patriotic motive; no political party has ever announced a creed or constructed a platform which did not profess to have patriotism as its foundation. A few individuals may have called it a prejudice; but so are most sentiments prejudices—family love, pride of race, fidelity to religion, for example. Others may have called it only a form of self-love, but so are they forms of self-love. It has been insisted that love of humanity is a more exalted passion; but love of humanity moves a few people only. There never was a political division of the world based upon it or kept alive by it.

On the other hand, if we go far back in the history of the world we find that Dr. Johnson's form of loyalty was once universal, and that it was the only form of patriotism that existed. It was

an enlargement of the feeling of dependence and gratitude for protection which the child had for the father. The head of the house or the clan, or the patriarch of the tribe was the father of his people, protecting them and receiving their loyal devotion in return. The bond of nationality was the bond of kinship; whence arose the doctrine of citizenship by blood—the *jus sanguinis* of the Roman law. During the Middle Ages this was as much the basis of nationality as it had been in the ancient world. The nomad hordes were patriarchal groups, and their kings were always kings over the people and not over the land. This is shown by the titles surviving at the present day of some of the monarchs of Europe. The King of Belgium is King of the Belgians; of Denmark, King of Denmark and the Wendes and Goths; of Sweden, King of Sweden and the Goths and Vandals. But, as the nomadic age passed and the agricultural took its place, the man became more fixed in his place of abode and by the feudal system appurtenant to the soil. He drew all his sustenance from it and he became attached to it and gave it the affection and gratitude, which before had belonged only to his patriarch or king. Then he personified his country and called it *she* or *her*, as he did his wife and mother, and spoke of it as the fatherland. A new doctrine of nationality arose—that it was derived from the place of birth and domicile, the law of the soil, or the *jus soli* of the common law.

America was settled after this doctrine had become fixed, and the emigrants had territorial patriotism as well as personal loyalty to their sovereign. But, naturally they transferred the feeling of love for the soil on which they had been born to the soil on which they lived, and from which their sustenance was derived. And here the feeling of personal loyalty had nothing to feed upon. The king lived thousands of miles away. His representatives came and went and nobody liked them; on the contrary, they were associated in the popular mind with ideas of disagreeable exactions and interference with popular desires. There were no people here immediately attached to the king's person and deriving consideration and prestige on that account; there was no court to attend; there were no royal pageants to excite the admiration of the multitude; in short, there was nothing to remind the people of the power and splendor of their sovereign. A sentiment cannot live

forever upon report or recollection. The king became only a name to the Americans, and the sense of personal loyalty to him was strong in the hearts of only a few people. When the Revolution came, the Loyalists were for the most part people who had recently left England, or who belonged to the official class, or who had intimate family ties with England. The great body of the people threw off their personal allegiance without regret, having already lost it from their hearts. What took its place was a sense of American nationality, which many elements combined to produce and encourage. The growth of that sense can be traced in a few words.

As I said when I spoke of it as national public opinion, it was strong during the Revolution. It was called into being by common opposition to the parent country, or, to speak more accurately, by a common desire to be independent of the parent country. It weakened in the period of peace which followed, but was revived by the making of the Constitution and the discussion which preceded its adoption. After that stimulation it fell back again, and old habits of thinking reasserted themselves. Americans had been colonists for more than a hundred and fifty years; they had been independent for less than twenty years. It was only natural that the interests which had filled their minds during the long period of colonial dependence should reappear. Those interests were in their localities and in the politics of Europe, upon which they had so long been dependent. They were not yet accustomed to their own national government, but regarded it with aloofness and a feeling of uncertainty. So, according to their predilections, many of them favored the old mother country, England, while others preferred their recent ally, France. The harsh treatment they received from both countries drove them unwillingly into hostility to both, and then a new generation of leaders came upon the stage, composed of young men who had been born since the Independence and had never had a mother country to love or hate. They carried the discordant elements into the War of 1812, and from it the country emerged emancipated from foreign politics, with a firmer sense of nationality than it had ever had before. The years following the peace of 1815 were its growing years. It became strong enough to meet and destroy the artificial barrier of the sectional institution of slavery; and since then has gone forward with no obstacles in its way, except such as arise from

prolonged peace and too rapid an advance in material prosperity.

The elements from which it sprang were many. Chief among them, probably, was the sense of possession. The Americans cared for that which they felt was their own. This land was the property of the men who lived upon it. They had conquered it from the wilderness and from the Indians. They held it by grace of no man's permission.

I have already spoken of another cause of the growth of national feeling. The limited powers of the government left the people free to adapt themselves to the work of developing the land they had conquered in the most natural way, and, as the work went on, their outlook grew larger. When the national government started in its operations, the fear was general that it had too much power—that it would interfere with freedom of local action and weigh down the people with too many laws. So the first action taken with reference to it was to pass a number of amendments declaratory of its limitations. These helped to dispel the fear, and experience soon taught that it had been groundless. The government which was neither seen nor felt was only a gentle bond to keep the parts of the country together, without coercing any of them. So, as the country progressed, the government came to be associated with the idea of the progress and everybody became proud of it. One feature of it positively encouraged the growth of the idea and materially helped to produce the pride.

As patriotism is a sentiment, an emotion, a passion, a very human thing, it must have some tangible object through which it can manifest itself. A flag or banner of particular pattern or colors, being a symbol of the national feeling, will call it up; but it is never wholly satisfied unless it can manifest itself through a human being. In the American system this demand was met by the creation of the office of president of the United States. The office intensified the American spirit, for the law required that no one should fill it who was not a natural-born American—that is to say, one who had never known any other than American allegiance.

The office was the people's own and never since their hero filled it has the sense of ownership diminished. Washington made it a place of responsibility and power and this arrangement was continued, because it also involved concentration of accountability

and removed all complications from the way of the operation of public opinion. Individual senators in a body which started with twenty-two members; individual representatives in a body which started with sixty might escape from many of the consequences of the acts of bodies to which they belonged, but which they could not control; but the president could not escape from responsibility for acts which came within the accepted sphere of his duties. Public censure and approbation fell unerringly upon his head.

And, as the office was the people's own, they have had a jealous care lest any one should obtain possession of it, and deprive them of their ownership. Early in the history of the office it was decreed, without formal enactment, that no one should be reëlected more than once; and, whenever the personal following of a president has shown a desire to continue him in office for more than two terms, the public voice has assumed a threatening tone towards those whom the public have suspected of a purpose to rob them of their control of their favorite political institution.

Public censure as well as public approbation of the president has strengthened the sense of nationality for it has encouraged the people to coöperation and to feel dependence upon each other. Mrs. Humphrey Ward in one of her novels speaks of the good effect upon a person's character of his being mad with something, and it is also true that popular indignation raises the natural character. What produces it with reference to the president is a conviction that he is feeble or timid in protecting the national interests, or supine in guarding what is held to be the national honor, or that he persists in administering the office in defiance of the national will.

A greater force than popular censure of the president in raising the national character is popular approbation. The glow of admiration arouses the national pride and quiets all doubts of the reasonable basis of love of country. In "a loyal people rallying round a parental throne" Macaulay saw the strength of the British constitution. In a patriotic people rallying around the president lies much of the strength of the American system. When a president so conducts his office as to arouse the people's enthusiasm and pride, when they see him administer it without selfish motive and only with the idea of guarding the national well-being, when they realize that through his zeal and skill the

standing and strength of the nation have been elevated in the view of other nations—then their patriotism rises to meet his own.

I have spoken of the stability of the government and how little it has changed since it was inaugurated; but in no particular has it changed less than in the essential administration of the office of president. Weak incumbents have avoided responsibility where they could, strong presidents have accepted and even assumed responsibility; some have been leaders of public opinion and others have followed it; some have on occasion even defied it. Those are fluctuations which are inseparable from varying individual dispositions and minds; they have not affected the continuous administration of the office under the same rules and with the same fundamental purpose. It would be difficult to find any vital point in which it is not now administered as George Washington administered it.

In the first Congress under the Constitution there was an interesting debate over the question of the title which should be given to the president. The Senate proposed to call him "His Highness, The President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties," but the House insisted upon the simple designation "The President of the United States." The Senate was not moved by any leaning towards royalty when it suggested a title which royalty might have assumed, but by a desire to give a title of dignity to an office of dignity; and when it called him protector of the liberties of the states it was thinking of the states as aggregations of the people rather than as separate political entities. The House could not have objected to this part of the title, except upon the ground that it was superfluous, for already it was generally agreed that the president was protector of the liberties of the people.

And here I rest my case. I have shown you that the government which is neither felt nor seen, nevertheless provides an office which pervades even the remotest part of the country, and penetrates the intelligence of even the most ignorant citizens; that this office is the great binding force of all sections and all classes; that it was planned to be the people's office, and circumstances combined to make it a more powerful and responsible office than those who planned it expected it to be, and that the chief circumstance in producing this result was that the

man who stood for the rising spirit of nationality in the new nation was the first to fill it. I have shown that it was continued in the direction which he gave it, because it provided the easiest and most natural way for public opinion to operate. I say that the president is the rallying point for the patriotism of the people; that the existence of the office has satisfied their natural craving for a person through whom to show their patriotism; and that no institution in our system has done more to stimulate patriotism and develop national character.

The Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County[1]

By W. F. Whyte

A former distinguished member of this Society in writing a history of Rock County began with an account of the Phoenicians. No apology will be necessary, therefore, if in this sketch of the early settlement of the town of Lebanon I go no further back than the causes of the emigration from Prussia to Wisconsin during the middle of the nineteenth century.

The story of the Pilgrim Fathers and other emigrants who sought the Atlantic Coast because of religious persecution in the old world, is a well-known historical narrative to the average American. It is, I believe, not so generally known that a desire for religious freedom was one of the principal causes of German migration to Wisconsin in the years between 1830 and 1850.

The Holy Alliance, the outcome of the Congress of Vienna, of which the great reactionary statesman and diplomat, Prince Metternich, was the chief organizer, was said by its sponsors to be due to their gratitude to God for his assistance in the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte. It was organized to keep down uprisings of the people and defend the divine right of kings.

Liberty took refuge in the smaller states of Germany. Hesse, Baden, Weimar, and Bavaria were more liberal, more civilized, and less warlike than Prussia. Metternich, working on the fears of that weak monarch, Frederick William III of Prussia, secured the latter's aid in his reactionary policy. The king broke his promise to his people and refused to give them a constitution.

[1] I wish to express my obligation to Hon. H. R. Moldenhauer of Watertown, and Otto F. Schwefel of Lebanon, descendants of the pioneers, for valuable assistance in furnishing data for this sketch.

It was but a step further toward absolutism when he denied his subjects liberty of conscience in matters of religion.

The two historic Protestant churches had existed side by side in Prussia since the Reformation. The line of demarcation, which was drawn when Luther's controversy with the Swiss reformers took place, had been strictly preserved by their descendants. In the opinion of theologians of both schools their disagreement in matters of doctrine was of vital importance, and a union of the two parties, therefore, impossible.

The Prussian king, himself a member of the Reformed Church and a sincere believer in the divine right of kings, deemed himself well qualified to decide exactly what his subjects should believe in matters of church doctrine. Accordingly in 1817, two years after the overthrow of Napoleon Bonaparte, he took the first steps toward a forcible union of the two religious bodies. As the pastors were servants of the state and their places and stipends were at the mercy of those in authority, the king had complete control of the church.

The Prussian people had always submitted to their rulers in temporal affairs and arbitrary acts were rarely or never questioned. A German peasants' uprising in the sixteenth century had been speedily put down and no trace of constitutional government can be discovered in Prussia until the nineteenth century was far advanced.

In matters of religion, however, I have found little evidence of intolerance on the part of the government until the period mentioned above. In the reign of Frederick William I, Prussia became an asylum for persecuted Protestants from Austria when what is known as the "Salzburg Emigration" took place. The king gave them land on the Oder River upon which they established themselves and it is a matter of interest to know that these early settlers of the town of Lebanon were the lineal descendants of the Salzburg emigrants of the early part of the eighteenth century. They settled in Brandenburg on what is known as the Oderbruch. Today the inhabitants are called "Brücher," speak a different "Low German" dialect, and differ in appearance from the "Platt Deutschen," their immediate neighbors. They show in their complexions that they are different in origin from their fair-haired north-German fellow-countrymen. The descendants of

men who were driven out of south Germany for matters of conscience were not likely to submit tamely to the dictation of a narrow-minded autocrat like the king of Prussia. The passive resistance to the royal edict uniting the two churches caused little disturbance in the country. When, however, ministers began to hold private religious services without state authority, the secular arm exerted itself to punish the recalcitrants. Perusal of the persecution of Captain Von Rohr and Pastor Grabau recalls to the student of history the treatment which the House of Stuart meted out to the Puritans in England and the Presbyterians of Scotland in the seventeenth century. It seems hardly credible that in Prussia but seventy-five years ago Christian ministers and professors of religion were confined in filthy jails, in company with thieves and cutthroats, for no other reason than that they did not conform to the State Church.

In this sketch it may not be amiss to mention the names of a few of the leaders who suffered persecution for conscience' sake at the hands of the tyrannical Prussian government, and who were the pioneers of that emigration movement destined to people some of the most fertile regions in southern Wisconsin.

The memory of Capt. Henry Von Rohr is held in reverence by thousands of American citizens of German extraction who remember him, not only as a wise and prudent leader, but as a spiritual father as well.[2] He was born in 1787. The son of a government official, he was destined by his father for the army. At the age of eight he was made a cadet and for some time served as a page to Prince William, afterward Emperor William of Germany. When eighteen years of age he became lieutenant and soon afterward was promoted to the rank of captain (Hauptmann). Unwilling to submit to the rules of the State Church, Captain Von Rohr first came in conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities when he refused to allow his infant to be baptized by a pastor of the "Unirte Kirche." He was brought before the authorities and asked to give the name of the clergyman who had christened the child. Upon his refusal to comply, the members of the little congregation were sought out and, so far as known, were fined for holding an illegal religious meeting. A cabinet order to Von Rohr to reveal the name of the offending pastor, he answered in

[2] *Gemeindeblatt-kalendar auf das Jahr 1909* (Milwaukee).

the words of the Prophet Isaiah, "Hide the outcasts; betray not him that wandereth." His appeal to the king brought his peremptory dismissal from the army. He was without private means and had not the wherewithal to provide himself with citizen's clothing or his family with bread. Friends furnished him with money wherewith to purchase a horse and wagon and for some time he followed the occupation of a colporteur. Finally arrested in Berlin, he was brought before the authorities and again refused to give information which might lead to the arrest of independent preachers. He was then sent to the criminal prison in Magdeburg where he remained a year in confinement. While there he was threatened with corporal punishment unless he would reveal the names of his brethren who were in hiding. His conduct, however, won the respect and admiration of the prison director, who, after some time, gave him many privileges, and for a considerable portion of the period of his incarceration, he was what might be called in our times a "trusty." I can find no record of his ever having been brought to trial for his alleged offenses. The habeas corpus procedure was evidently at that time an unheard-of procedure in Prussia.

The story of the persecution of Pastor J. A. Grabau by the secular arm of the Prussian monarchy possesses even more tragic features than that of Captain Von Rohr.[3] Pastor Grabau was a regularly ordained clergyman of the Established Church, and in 1836 found himself unable to comply with the requirements of the state in matters of religion. He was deposed, arrested, and confined six months in a prison, in company with thieves and all classes of lawbreakers. With the assistance of Captain Von Rohr he escaped, and for some time traveled about preaching in private houses and celebrating the Lord's Supper wherever a small company of fellow-believers could be assembled. With the aid of his Lutheran brethren he was successful in dodging the police for a considerable time, but was finally rearrested and brought back to Heiligenstadt, his former prison. Here he became desperately ill and for seventeen weeks lay in prison without care or nursing except for the ministrations of a fellow-prisoner, a thief. He petitioned the government to be allowed to emigrate with his wife and

[3] Johannes A. Grabau, *Lebenslauf des Ehrwürdigen J. An. A. Grabau* (Buffalo, 1879).

child and, after some time, received the reply that he would be released on condition that he should not see his friends and fellow-believers in Erfurt and Magdeburg, should remain under strict police surveillance until he was on board ship at Hamburg, and agree to reveal the names of those whom he expected would render him financial aid. This offer he took under consideration, but soon after his illness assumed so serious a turn that his life was despaired of. A petition to the government to release him so that he might die at home with his family was granted with the condition that if he recovered he must leave the country. This he agreed to do, and his long prison martyrdom came to an end.

On the arrival of Pastor Grabau at Hamburg he found that the emigration had assumed considerable proportions. Captain Von Rohr and a man by the name of Krueger had made a contract to transport a thousand emigrants to the United States. A number had already passed over to England from Hamburg where they were cordially received. The English could not understand the reason for the persecution of the Lutherans by the Prussian government. Von Rohr traveled in advance with the object of finding work and homes for his compatriots, but to Pastor Grabau is accorded the honor of being the leader of the "Auswanderung."

The major portion of the emigrants who left Germany in 1839 went no farther than Buffalo, New York, where they organized a church. It was dedicated in 1840 on the day on which Frederick William III, the persecuting Prussian king, died. Pastor Grabau was afterwards one of the founders of the Buffalo Synod and the Martin Luther College at Buffalo.

Frederick William IV, who succeeded his brother on the throne, did not persecute the Lutherans with the same ardor which his predecessor had shown, but those who would not conform to the State Church found that their lines were not cast in pleasant places, and the desire to follow in the footsteps of their Lutheran brethren who had left Prussia for a land of religious freedom was still strong.

The people who lived on the Oderbruch got the emigration fever in 1843, and two of the active young men in the district, William Woltmann, and William Setzkorn, traveled to Pomerania

to interview Pastor Kindermann, who was active in the work of promoting emigration. Two agents were then sent from the Oderbruch to Hamburg to arrange for transportation. The first party of emigrants[4] left Oderbruch on May 28. Among the more prominent members of the party were: J. R. Moldenhauer and family; William Woltmann and wife; William Setzkorn and wife; William Steinborn and wife; Erdman Pankow, wife and sister; Frederick Freiert and wife; John Hoehne and wife; and Gottlieb Hoehne and wife.

To pass through Berlin was rather a hazardous undertaking and to avoid difficulty that part of the journey was made at night. They were joined at Berlin by Pastor Hoeckendorf and a number of their coreligionists. At Hamburg, Herman Grube, who afterwards was a prominent factor in Dodge County politics and was elected a member of the Wisconsin legislature, joined the party. I have always suspected that the attractions of Fraülein Pankow, whom he met at Hamburg and afterwards married, were a stronger motive for his emigration than the Augsburg Confession.

The party sailed from Hamburg on June 19 and landed in New York on August 5, after a voyage of nearly seven weeks' duration. Six children died on the passage and were buried at sea. From New York, the emigrants proceeded by way of the Hudson River, Erie Canal, and Great Lakes to Milwaukee, reaching there September 6. The contingent from Pomerania was already on the ground, having arrived three weeks before. The Lutheran immigrants founded Kirchayn, Freistadt, and Cedarburg, all three settlements being only a short distance from Milwaukee. Pastor Kindermann, who had been their leader, remained at Cedarburg. The Oderbrücher from the Province of Brandenburg decided to go farther west and settle near Watertown, then a

[4] The members of the first band of immigrants who settled in Lebanon and the adjoining region were: Arndt, Bentert, Bliesner, Bochow, Borchardt, Braasch, Brendemuehl, Budahn, Buenning, Christian, Dornfeld, Duehring, Francke, Freiert, Friese, Froemming, Fuehrman, Gaulke, Goetsch, Gossrow, Grube, Hafermeister, Hahn, Hartman, Hilke, Hoeckendorf, Hoehne, Jaeger, Kronitz, Krueger, Kunze, Kurt, Ladiwig, Lemke, Lettow, Marlow, Mielow, Moldenhauer, Mueller, Noack, Pankow, Pannenberg, Pieritz, Posin, Raasch, Rabenhorst, Reinsch, Roehrike, Roessler, Salzmueller, Schaar, Schley, Schoenike, Schroeder, Schueller, Schuette, Schulz, Schwefel, Seifert, Setzkorn, Steinborn, Timmel, Uttech, Vansky, Voight, Wagner, Woltmann, Zimdars.

straggling village called Johnson's Rapids. How they came to settle in the hilly country west of Watertown may be explained by the story told by the original surveyor of the neighborhood, the late Judson Prentice. He said that he sent the American settlers south, the Irish north and west, and the Germans east.

From Milwaukee the journey, which was less than fifty miles, was made in seven days. On their arrival at their future home the emigrants camped under the sky until they could build log huts. The land which they purchased from the government was hilly and could not be regarded as desirable for farming purposes as the country south and north of Watertown; but Judson Prentice had judged their character fairly, and felt certain that the men from Brandenburg would not be daunted by obstacles which might make a less resolute and energetic people shrink from the hardships necessary to bring the rugged and hilly country under cultivation. They were also influenced by H. Braasch, who had preceded the main body of emigrants on a prospecting tour. He had traveled as far west as Sun Prairie and Madison and the heavily timbered hills, with the proximity of marshland, appealed to him strongly as a proper neighborhood for the settlers. "Here," said he, "we have both wood and hay." The hilly country east of Watertown, or Johnson's Rapids, was heavily timbered with oak, ash, and basswood. Seven miles east, what is known today as the "big marsh," joining with the Rock River at its northern and southern extremity, literally made an island of a very fertile tract of land about 4,500 acres in extent, covered with maple trees. This is known today as the "Zucker Insel [Sugar Island]." It was impossible to reach Watertown from the island by direct road so, for a number of years, a detour by the village of Hustisford where the marsh was narrow was necessary in order to reach a market. A trip to Watertown was a two-day affair.

The name Lebanon, proposed for the new settlement by William Woltmann, one of the principal promoters of the emigration, was adopted when the township was organized, some two or three years later. He thought that a Biblical name would be appropriate for a settlement of Christian people in a hilly country. The town was organized and the first meeting was held at the house of Fred Dornfeld on April 7, 1846. Benjamin Randall was chosen moderator, and G. A. Arnold, clerk.

It should be mentioned here that the northern portion of the town of Lebanon was settled by native Americans, with a few English. In transacting town business, they naturally took the lead as their German neighbors were not conversant with the English language.

The following town officials were chosen: town clerk, G. A. Arnold; school commissioners, Lyman Leach, Roderick Kinmore, and Jeremiah Grant; constable, Abram Gault; treasurer, Thomas Hall; assessors, Roderick Kinmore and Samuel Hall; commissioners of highways, Charles Phillips and Edward Goedel; justices of the peace, Albert Philips and Edward Goedel; and sealer of weights and measures, John Adams. The question of state government was then taken up and decided in the negative by a vote of eighteen to eleven. A second meeting, held April 29, 1846, fixed upon the salaries of officers. The town clerk was to receive ten dollars per annum; other town officials to receive one dollar per day when engaged in business for the town.

The first religious service was held in the house of Joachim Krueger and was conducted by Pastor Kindermann, who journeyed from Cedarburg with an ox team. He served the congregation occasionally until the fall of 1844, when Pastor Geyer was called from St. Louis. The first church built in the settlement was a log structure and included the pastor's residence. It was dedicated in 1846. The first confirmation was in 1844, and Henry Moldenhauer was one of the three young people confirmed. That same year the first marriage took place, when Carl Setzkorn wedded Louise Moldenhauer. It was more than sixty years after the immigration before the first divorce suit was brought in the town.

A few years after the immigration, a number of the settlers were converted to the belief that immersion was the only true method of baptism, and formed themselves into a congregation, building a church a mile south of the Lebanon Lutheran Church, on the border line of Jefferson County.

The first person to die in the settlement was a girl twelve years of age, Sophie Moldenhauer, the twin sister of Henry Moldenhauer, afterwards one of the most prominent men in the settlement and its first merchant. The death forced on the congregation the necessity of obtaining ground to be set apart for burial

purposes, and an eighty-acre tract of land was purchased on what is now known as Main Street. A portion of the land was reserved as a site for the building of a church, and an allotment made to the pastor and the parochial teacher. The northern portion was set apart for a cemetery, which in turn was divided into three parts: The Baptists received the south portion, Pankow's congregation, the north, while the members of the main church body were assigned the center.

The good people of Lebanon, although free from the dictation of the state in matters of religion and church doctrine, did not long eat their bread in peace. A controversy over a line fence was the first cause of division, which finally resulted in the formation of a new congregation. As so frequently happens, a dispute between two members engendered bitter feeling among a large number, and a quarrel in which originally only a few were concerned eventually led to a division in the congregation.

The great controversy, which was destined to last for years and to be the cause of a number of church conferences, originated over the use of the violin in the parochial school. Erdman Pankow, one of the original settlers, was elected parochial school-teacher when the first schoolhouse was built in 1847. Previous to this the children had received instruction in private houses, H. Braasch officiating as teacher. Pankow was inducted into office in 1847 and played the violin on that occasion. Pastor Geyer was such an ecclesiastic as John Milton had in mind when he wrote that presbyter was only priest writ large, and soon he and the teacher found that they could not agree on the use of the violin. Pankow had played a rather lively air in his room after school hours, and two well-diggers near-by had capered about to the music. Two other members of the congregation being reprimanded by the pastor for some offense said to Geyer, "Why don't you reprove the Lehrer [the teacher]? He is causing scandal by playing such music." Geyer then took up the matter of violin playing with Pankow and told him that the fiddle was used for ungodly purposes, and that it was not fit that a teacher of religion should play on it, especially in school. Pankow replied that he did not use the fiddle for any secular or shameful purpose, that it was necessary to give the children the tone in singing with some musical instrument, and the violin was the only one with which he was

familiar. Geyer then forbade Pankow to come to the Lord's Supper and the ecclesiastical conflict began.

Pankow had a large following in the congregation, and being a man of positive convictions and indomitable will was no mean antagonist. The controversy lasted several months and in 1849 a large number of the congregation withdrew from the church, formed an independent body, and elected Pankow as their minister. The quarrel must have smoldered a long time after this step was taken, for the records of the controversy show that a hearing took place on Aug. 31, 1854, more than six years after the original split.

The conference was presided over by Pastor Furburger. In addition to church elders, a number of pastors from the neighboring churches were present. The decision of the ecclesiastical body was, on the whole, unfavorable to Pankow, although it criticized Geyer for his precipitate action in suspending Pankow, and said that had he acted with more prudence the separation would not have taken place. Pankow, on the other hand, was criticized for starting the controversy. He replied that he and his friends did not desire a separation, and had attempted a number of times to convince Geyer that the latter was treating him unjustly. Pankow denied he had acted with bitterness toward his opponent and claimed that he had always treated him with courtesy and respect.

Evidence was brought to show that Pankow had played frivolous and worldly music. Geyer's mother and father testified that in going by his house they had heard him play the music to "Lot ist todt," an old German comic song. This the Synod condemned as sinful and giving offense to some of the congregation. Pankow replied that notes were not sinful and that it was sophistry to say so. He had not played for unbelievers and if he had, did not David dance before Saul?

The conference decided that although Pankow may have meant well, still, by the use of his Christian liberty in that particular way he had offended some of the congregation and thus committed sin. He denied the accusation, however, and defended his position by reference to Scripture and to the writings of the reformers. The controversy lasted a number of years after the first trial in 1854. The last hearing of which I have found any

record, was held in 1861. It was laid before the faculty of the Theological School in St. Louis in 1855, and a copy of the whole contention was sent to Germany.

The same year Pankow's adherents erected a brick church which was occupied as a house of worship for more than fifty years. During all this time he served as minister, giving up his charge only when compelled to by the infirmities of age. He never joined any ecclesiastical body but remained an independent pastor during his life. Three of his sons are Lutheran pastors.

Among the early settlers there were also several veterans of the Napoleonic wars. The most noted was Fred Schwefel, "Der alte Fritz," as he was called. He had fought at the battle of Leipsic and, like old soldiers in general, whenever he could find a listener was always anxious to show how fields were won. His son, Frederick F. Schwefel, was the first Lebanon citizen selected to a State office, having been chosen a member of the assembly in 1855.

The Lebanon immigrants differed from those of a later date in that they were people of better financial standing. The majority of them were small farmers or freeholders in their native land, and thus came better prepared to make homes for themselves in a new country where money was not plentiful. I knew of one farmer who owned forty acres in Brandenburg and with the money brought by his little German estate or "Gut" as it is called was able to purchase a farm for each of his four sons. Another started five sons in life on Dodge County farms with the proceeds of his little German estate. The wealthiest man, who came to Lebanon a year or two after the first settlers, brought $25,000 in gold with him, and at one time owned nearly 1,000 acres of Dodge County land. Communism as practised by the early Christians prevailed to some extent among the immigrants. The well-to-do assisted their poorer fellow-believers who would not otherwise have been able to undertake the journey. J. R. Moldenhauer gave $500 for this purpose.

The figures of two men in the history of Lebanon stand out in bold relief: Erdman Pankow and William Schwefel. I have spoken of Pankow at length in connection with the church controversy. He had a distinguished appearance that made him a marked man among strangers and he would have obtained recogni-

tion in any community as a man of force and character. With no more scholastic knowledge than the average German peasant of the better class received in the middle of the nineteenth century, he ministered successfully to a goodly congregation and even did missionary work outside of his own immediate vicinity.

William Schwefel was a scion of a large family which came with the first immigration, when he was a child of seven years. He grew up in Lebanon with no more educational advantages than the parochial and common schools afforded. From the days of his young manhood he was recognized as a man of superior ability and shrewdness, and for forty years was the "Rathgeber," or the advice-giver for the whole town. He served as supervisor many times, was chairman of the county board and was twice a member of the Wisconsin legislature. His refusal to vote for the repeal of the local option law caused his defeat for a third nomination. With eleven other Democrats he braved the party displeasure because, as he said, "the people should not be deprived of the right to say that they would have no saloons." Schwefel was overbearing and autocratic in his manners, and among his neighbors would not tolerate a difference of opinion. I recall to mind two distinguished Americans whose consciousness of their own mental superiority stood in the way of their political advancement—John Adams, the "Duke of Braintree," and Richard H. Dana, the "Duke of Cambridge." Schwefel, because of his domineering manner was often called the "Duke of Lebanon" and "Kaiser Wilhelm," but his enemies admitted that he did not overestimate himself, and entrusted their business matters to him with full confidence both in his ability and his integrity. With a good education, in addition to his mental equipment, he would easily have been in the foremost rank among Wisconsin's distinguished citizens.

From an intimate acquaintance with the community I can testify to the sterling qualities of the Lebanon immigrants. They were a sturdy, honest, God-fearing, and industrious class of people, by whose immigration the Republic gained worthy and desirable citizens.

The Old French Post near Trempealeau
From an idealized sketch by Mrs. Hettie M. Pierce

Remains of a French Post Near Trempealeau[1]

I. Archeological Sketch: by Eben D. Pierce

In the early eighties Dr. Lyman C. Draper, then secretary of the State Historical Society, received a request from the French Academy of History for information regarding the location of Perrot's post, as indicated on Franquelin's map of 1688, a few miles above the mouth of Black River on the east bank of the Mississippi. Doctor Draper sought the assistance of A. W. Newman, of Trempealeau, later justice of the Wisconsin Supreme Court, who was much interested in local history. He enlisted the services of Judge B. F. Heuston, then at work on a history of Trempealeau, who took up the work with enthusiasm and carefully searched the riverside of the bluffs for some mark of the ancient fort. He made several journeys to Trempealeau bay in the vain effort to find some trace of the early post, as the bay would seem to have afforded an excellent site for wintering quarters.

Meanwhile, some of the workmen engaged in grading the Chicago, Burlington & Northern Railway along the river discovered, about two miles above the village, the remains of fire-

[1] Although the French occupation of Wisconsin lasted more than a century, and we have documentary evidence of the existence within its boundaries of ten or more regular posts, built by orders of the government, aside from fur trading posts, nevertheless, there is no archeological evidence of the exact site of any of them, unless the evidence concerning the one near Trempealeau may be so considered. The presentation of this evidence by two Trempealeau residents, one of whom was active in the discovery of the post, is supplemented by a summary of the documentary material written by a member of the Society's staff. It is interesting to note that, by working from separate points of view, similar conclusions have been reached; in view of the evidence presented it seems fair to suggest that these remains should no longer be styled "Perrot's Fort" without some qualifying or additional statement.

places or hearths. Judge Heuston, hearing of these finds, decided to visit the place and investigate. He selected George H. Squier to assist him and accompanied by Antoine Grignon and W. A. Finkelnburg of Winona, they went to the place where the fireplaces had been uncovered and began excavations. The next spring, Judge Newman having communicated these facts to the State Historical Society, Reuben G. Thwaites, then the newly elected secretary of the Society, came to Trempealeau and on April 18, accompanied by W. A. Finkelnburg and the local historians, made a historical pilgrimage to the site of the post that had been found, and continued the excavations.[2]

The first fireplace had already been laid bare, and Mr. Squier had succeeded in tracing by a line of charcoal the former wall of the building. The dimensions of the building were about twenty by thirty feet; the fireplace was two and a half feet in depth and four feet long with enclosing walls at back and sides. The chimney had undoubtedly been a wooden structure made of small logs with clay daubing, as there was not stone enough found to indicate a stone chimney.

A blacksmith's forge was also unearthed, together with some scrap iron, and a pile of charcoal which had evidently been used in a smelter. A pile of slag, some sixteen feet in diameter, was found showing that the occupants of the post had attempted smelting. The slag consisted of a mixture of iron ore and limestone. The remains of the smelting furnace were also found. Other relics discovered included some hand-wrought nails, buffalo bones, an old-fashioned flintlock pistol, a gun barrel, and an auger. The pistol was of excellent make, which led Mr. Squier to believe that the explorers had excavated the officers' quarters. Seven of the original buildings were unearthed in all; one was left undisturbed.

James Reed, the first settler in this county, said that when he first came to Trempealeau in 1840, he had noticed the elevated foundations at this place, where part of the fireplace protruded above the sod, but as the region abounded in Indian mounds of various types, he had attached no especial significance to this

[2] The arrangements for this meeting were made by B. F. Heuston. In addition to R. G. Thwaites, of Madison, and N. H. Winchell, of St. Paul, some forty or fifty persons interested in such work came from La Crosse, Winona, and other adjoining places.

particular elevation. There was, however, a lingering tradition among the Indians of the locality concerning a French fort near the sacred Trempealeau Mountain.

In the summer of 1912 George H. Squier, Antoine Grignon, and the writer did some excavating at this site. By a cross-sectional excavation we were able to pick up the charcoal line of the main building and follow it several feet, and from this it was possible to verify Mr. Squier's early estimate of its dimensions. We also found, besides charcoal, numerous bones, among which were the jawbone of a beaver, the toe bones and claw of a bear, and some large bones either of elk or buffalo.

The place was well selected for wintering quarters. It lay near the head of a slough which, setting back from the Mississippi, afforded a quiet harbor free from the menace of floating ice. Springs exist in the side of Brady's and Sullivan's peaks a quarter of a mile away, but the river water was drinkable, and there was an abundance of firewood. The bluffs protected the post from the cold north and east winds.

II. Additional Archeological Details: by George H. Squier

It is now nearly thirty years since the French post at Trempealeau was first discovered, and those who had part in that discovery have nearly all passed away. As it chanced the writer was the first to uncover any portion of the remains, and it was also his fortune that this first site explored was that of the most important and best constructed of the group and afforded a key to the construction plan and the identity of the remains. To the brief account given in the tenth volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, the writer is the only one alive who is able to add from first-hand knowledge, details that were noted but not recorded at the time the post was first laid bare.

In describing the remains one basic fact must be borne in mind, namely, that they show two distinct periods of occupancy the earlier of which was probably that of Perrot, the later with little doubt represented by Linctot. Most of the descriptions, therefore, must apply to the later rather than to the earlier post. The only portion of the remains which can confidently be ascribed to the earlier period is the lower of two hearths occupying the same site.

If there were any other remains of this earlier period, they were indistinguishably mingled with those of the later. This earlier hearth was less carefully constructed than the later, hence we may conjecture that Perrot's accommodations were cruder than those of Linctot. So far as the character of the construction could be judged from the remains, it by no means equaled the average squatter's cabin in solidity and permanence, and there was nothing whatever to indicate any attempt at defensive construction.

Of the hearths other than the largest one, which was the first to be uncovered, it is believed there were five, two of which were removed in grading the railway. In comparison with the first, these five were much inferior in construction, the hearthstones being very irregular in form with no indications of backs or chimneys. As this would indicate that the smoke escaped through the roof, it would point to structures very little removed from Indian tepees slightly modified for white occupancy. Their true positions with reference to Number 1 and to each other were not determined, but their distribution was rather irregular.

In front of the supposed officers' quarters were two constructions representing the industrial equipment of the post. One of these was the blacksmith's forge. The excavations about this were conducted by the owner of a private museum at St. Paul, Minnesota, assisted by Antoine Grignon. As was to be expected this furnished the greater portion of the metal relics. Among them I remember a pistol, an auger, a staple, some nails, and several bits of scrap iron. The other construction, which was explored by myself, undoubtedly represented an attempt to reduce our local iron ores by the open-hearth process. There were the remains of a large pile of charcoal several feet in diameter, and a considerable pile of the resultant slag, representing material in all stages of fusion from the glassy to that showing unfused fragments of the ore and limestone intimately commingled. That this ore, a residual from the decay of limestone and usually associated with flint, is not now very abundant about the Trempealeau bluffs is believed to be in part due to the fact that it was largely gathered up by the occupants of this post, since it occurs in considerable abundance in many other Mississippi River bluffs.

It seems probable that Linctot's occupancy was something more than temporary, and represented a tentative attempt to establish a permanent post, which, however, was soon abandoned. There are evidences that the French scoured the region for a considerable distance around the post—an ax of the period having been recovered from a shallow pond three miles eastward.

The relation these remains bear to Indian antiquities is worthy of notice. A considerable group of mounds occurs only a few rods west of the site, and a single mound appears on the rather prominent stony point in front of the post. There are some peculiar features, not found elsewhere in this region, in the manner of disposal and burning of the skeletons covered by this mound; while conspicuously different from the usual Indian methods they are much like primitive methods practised in Europe. It seems reasonable to suppose that the French were in some way concerned in these burials. It may be noted that the lower of the two hearths on the supposed site of the officers' quarters was itself built over an Indian bake hole in which ashes and bones were found.

Before the uncovering of the site there was nothing in any way resembling a tumulus. Indeed, the surface was more even than it is now, for in the process of excavation the dirt was heaped up in places. At the largest hearth the clay with which the chimney had been plastered formed a covering a few inches thick over the natural surface, but the rise was so small and the slope so gentle that it was scarcely recognizable. The one feature noted by James Reed and Antoine Grignon, which led to the final discovery of the place was that the sides and back of the hearth, formed of small flat stones, projected an inch or two above the surface. The construction was so rude, however, that Judge Heuston, W. A. Finkelnburg, and Antoine Grignon, who preceded me to the place, after examining some of the top stones concluded that it was not artificial and went on to the bay. Coming up after they had left, there seemed to me something in the arrangement not quite natural, and working around carefully with a garden trowel I quickly exposed the outlines, and by the time they returned from the bay the hearth was fully exposed. The hearth proper was about two by four feet in dimensions, while the outside dimensions of the chimney

were probably about twice as large. The sides and back were built of small flat stones laid in clay to a height somewhere between one and two feet, above which the chimney construction must have been of small logs plastered with clay, in which a considerable amount of grass was mixed for better binding. The hearths themselves were of such flat stones as could be found in the vicinity, the best of them being used in this hearth at the officers' quarters. With the possible exception of some slight trimming of the edges no tool work had been given them. But this and the underlying hearth were covered by several inches of ashes with which were mingled numerous fragments of bones of birds and small animals. The larger bones were thrown out back of the hearth which was evidently at the western end of the principal building.

It is probable that the stone construction did not extend much more than a foot above the hearth and that these stones were mostly in place when the remains were discovered. Very few stones were found mingled with the débris around the hearth, which could hardly have been the case had any considerable height of such construction fallen down. It is probable that the log enclosure was built up from the ground of sufficient size to permit a protective interlining, which at the bottom was of stones laid in clay. After the supply of stones gave out the construction was continued of clay alone as high as needed. Used in this way the stones were added as fillers, much as we do in concrete constructions with little effort to arrange them in orderly sequence.[3]

According to cross-sectional excavations made in the summer of 1912 the dimensions of this building were twenty by thirty feet; but these figures are to be looked upon as merely a conjectural estimate.[4] There was nothing whatever to determine

[3] Perhaps the foregoing overstates the case somewhat. The stones were laid about as closely and carefully as was possible with the material—small, thin fragments from the Mendota limestone. It seems not unlikely that the builders overestimated the amount of such material easily available.—G. H. S.

[4] There is a large rock, the only object breaking the otherwise clear surface of the site, which would have been included in a building of the size and emplacement here given. The rock, of hard, local sandstone, stands upright, deeply bedded in the earth and rising nearly three feet above the surface. It is not clear why this should have been included in the building unless it was thought it might be utilized. The one plausible conjecture, that it might have furnished

the position of the south wall, and the evidence concerning the location of the east wall was very slight. The distance from the northwest corner to the south side of the hearth was about ten feet. Five or six feet should be allowed for a door, which there is reason to believe existed on the west side south of the hearth, so that an estimate of twenty feet for the width of the building can not be regarded as excessive. As far as traced, the north wall was a straight, even, sharply defined line of charcoal, perhaps ten inches wide. Nothing which could be regarded as its counterpart was found on the east side.

III. Historical Sketch: by Louise Phelps Kellogg

The character of the French posts in Wisconsin was determined by the conditions under which they were built. A thousand miles from the source of supplies, dependent upon transportation by birch-bark canoes upon rapid rivers where frequent portages must be made, isolated in dense forests, far from other habitations, the economy of the post was of necessity primitive and almost wholly self-sufficing. The forest and its dwellers furnished wood, bark, skins, and meat. Next in importance came tools, which were brought from the colony, but repaired and supplemented by the blacksmith who accompanied every garrison; and wherever possible, lead and iron were obtained from the vicinity by such crude methods of smelting as it was possible to carry on. The posts were rough log structures, but the exigencies of the Wisconsin climate made fireplaces and chimneys, improvised from whatever materials could be obtained, essential. Usually the group of rude log huts, the smithy and the storehouses, was enclosed by a palisade for protection against wild beasts and hostile red men. Such was the riverside post of the French régime in Wisconsin, whose ruler, usually an officer in the colonial army, was grandiloquently styled a commandant.

It has not been definitely ascertained when or by whom the first French post in Wisconsin was built. The custom of utilizing the Jesuit missions, centers of trade and hospitality, for treating

---

the back for a fire, was not borne out by an examination. The presence of this stone furnishes a seeming objection to the other evidence concerning the arrangement of the building.—G. H. S.

with the Indians makes it uncertain whether there was a French post at Green Bay during the seventeenth century. The first commandant whose name we possess was Nicolas Perrot, erstwhile trader and interpreter in the Northwest for twenty years.[5]

Perrot arrived at Green Bay, where he was already well known, in the late summer of the year 1685. He found the Indians restless and inclined to intertribal wars, so that some time was spent in their pacification. It was later than he had planned, therefore, when he set out for the country of the Sioux, where he hoped to secure a great harvest of valuable furs. After crossing the Wisconsin portage, and proceeding down that river to its mouth, he turned his little fleet of canoes boldly upstream; but as the weather was growing cold and traveling difficult, they "found a place where there was timber, which served them for building a fort, and they took up their quarters at the foot of a mountain, behind which was a great prairie, abounding in wild beasts."[6]

To one familiar with the topography of this section, the description of the site of Perrot's wintering quarters in 1685-86 is very clearly that of the Trempealeau Prairie, because there are the only bluffs near the river having a large prairie in their rear and Trempealeau Mountain, moreover, is a well-known landmark on the upper Mississippi.[7] In addition to this indication we have that of the well-known map of Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin published in 1688, and based undoubtedly on information obtained from Perrot himself.

Franquelin, an engineer of repute and royal hydrographer, visited New France in 1687. His famous map of Louisiana in 1684, drawn to display La Salle's discoveries, has but few indi-

---

[5] Perrot has been called by Benjamin Sulte "the great Frenchman of the West," Canadian Royal Society, *Proceedings and Transactions*, 3rd ser., VI, pt. 1, 12. Born about 1644, he came to New France in his youth and at least as early as 1665 visited Green Bay and for five years traded with the neighboring nations. In 1671 he was interpreter at St. Lusson's pageant at Sault Ste. Marie. His career during the next fourteen years is obscure, part of the time being spent at his seigniory on the St. Lawrence. In 1685 La Barre commissioned him commandant of La Baye and its dependencies.

[6] E. H. Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi* (Cleveland, 1911), I, 367.

[7] Wisconsin Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1906, 246, 247.

cations of upper Mississippi sites. That of 1688, however, records with much accuracy the upper Mississippi region, and since we know Perrot to have been in Quebec in the autumn of 1687, there is every reason to suppose that he furnished Franquelin with the data appearing thereon. Not far above the mouth of Rivière Noire—the Black River of today—there is written *La Butte d' Hyvernement* (the hill of the wintering place), which seems to be intended for Trempealeau Mountain, near where the commandant and his party wintered.[8] Fort St. Nicolas at the mouth of the Wisconsin, and Fort St. Antoine, above the Chippewa, both founded by Perrot, are likewise indicated.

Just when Perrot left his wintering place on the Mississippi and built Fort Antoine higher up the river is not entirely clear, probably it was in the spring of 1686. Certainly he was upon the upper river until the spring of 1687, when he left to join Denonville's expedition against the Iroquois. During this year and a half in the Sioux country Perrot had amassed a stock of furs worth 40,000 livres. In his absence on the warpath, these were left stored at the mission house at Green Bay, which was burned by hostile Indians with the loss of all his peltry.[9]

In the autumn of 1687, Perrot set out once more for the Northwest to retrieve his ruined fortunes, and visit again his Mississippi posts. The winter ice was not yet out of the rivers when he pushed forward from Green Bay to reach Fort St. Antoine, where the Sioux received him with acclaim. There in May, 1689, he took possession of the Sioux country in the name of the king of France, annexing the Minnesota and St. Croix river districts and all the headwaters of the Mississippi.[10]

One of the witnesses to this document was Pierre Charles le Sueur, an explorer and trader in the far Northwest, whose work was to supplement that of Perrot. Six years later Le Sueur built a fort on Pelée Island in Lake Pepin, which was maintained about four years, during his own absence in France. When he returned, and ascended the Mississippi from its mouth to the Minnesota,

[8] For a partial reproduction of Franquelin's map of 1688, see E. D. Neill, *History of Minnesota* (Minneapolis, 4th ed., 1882), frontispiece.

[9] Blair, *Indian Tribes*, II, 25.

[10] *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XI, 35, 36.

the remains of both Fort St. Antoine and his own island fort were plainly to be seen.[11]

More than one-fourth of the eighteenth century passed away before another attempt was made to build a post on the upper Mississippi. The Fox Indian wars had made the Fox-Wisconsin waterway untenable and any approach to the Sioux had to take the difficult route from the end of Lake Superior through the tangled marshes and ponds at the head of the Mississippi.

In 1727, however, the French government determined to erect a post among the Sioux. In September of the same year the new fort was erected, amid imposing ceremonies, on the Minnesota side of Lake Pepin. The failure of the expedition against the Foxes the following year made this post untenable, however, and it was hastily abandoned by the alarmed garrison.[12]

In 1731, the Foxes being temporarily subdued, another expedition to build a Sioux post was placed in charge of René Godefroy, sieur de Linctot.[13] With him went his son Louis René, Augustin Langlade and his brother, Joseph Jolliet, grandson of the explorer, one Campeau, a skilled blacksmith, brother of the one at Detroit, and Father Michel Guignas, chaplain of the expedition.

They arrived on the Mississippi in the autumn of 1731, and according to the official report built "a fort On the Mississipy at a Place called the Mountain * * * (la Montagne qui trempe dans l'Eau) * * * "[14] The winter did not pass without events. During the deep snows food became so scarce that Linctot was obliged to send his voyageurs and traders to winter in the camps of the Indians. One of the voyageurs named Dorval had a thrilling experience with refugee Foxes, fleeing from an attack of mission Iroquois and Detroit Huron. Later some of the same fugitives came to Linctot to beg for their lives. The Sioux began coming in

---

[11] Pierre Margry, *Découvertes et Etablissements des Français* (Paris, 1882), V, 413.

[12] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 10–15, 22–28, 56–59, 77–80.

[13] Linctot was born in 1675 at Three Rivers, Canada, where communication with the northern country was frequent, and where many retired officers, missionaries, and fur traders dwelt. Linctot entered the colonial army as ensign, being sent in 1718 with the expedition that established a post at Chequamegon Bay, where he was chief in command, 1720–22. The next year we find him second in command at Detroit.

[14] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 151, 168, 169.

La Montagne qui Trempe à l'Eau, as Seen from Brady's Peak

large numbers when they learned of Linctot's presence, and a camp of Winnebago wintered near by.

The succeeding years were replete with danger and difficulty for the officers and traders of the little Sioux post. Although the Foxes had been defeated and large numbers of them destroyed, desperate remnants remained scattered over the western country, and attacking parties of mission Indians and others allied with the French made frequent excursions to harass the wretched fugitives. The Sioux promised protection to the French, but their situation among the fierce belligerents was almost that of prisoners. In April, 1735, one of the Jesuits wrote from Quebec, "we are Much afraid that father Guignas has been taken and burned by a tribe of savages called the rénards."[15] The anxiety in Canada over his fate was allayed, however, the same summer, when Linctot finally arrived in the colony bringing an immense quantity of beaver skins and other peltry.[16] He reported that he had left Father Guignas with but six men at the little fort in the Sioux country, and asked for himself that he be relieved from command.[17]

To succeed Linctot in the post of the Sioux the governor-general of New France chose Jacques le Gardeur, sieur de St. Pierre, sending him with a party of twenty-two men to make their way to the upper Mississippi.[18] This small convoy reached its destination late in 1735, and early the following spring St. Pierre determined to remove the post twenty-five leagues (about sixty miles) higher up the Mississippi.[19] There for a year they held a hostile tribe at bay, employing every device of strategy

---

[15] R. G. Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations* (Cleveland, 1900), LXVIII, 255.

[16] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 230.

[17] Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LXVIII, 281; Margry, *Découv. et Etabl.*, VI, 572, 573; *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 274, note.

[18] Jacques le Gardeur, sieur de St. Pierre, was a grandson of Jean Nicolet, discoverer of the Northwest. Born in 1701, he had been at the Chequamegon post commanded by his father and was conversant with several Indian languages. He had taken part in the expedition of 1728 against the Foxes, and after his experience with the Sioux commanded a detachment against the Chickasaw. Later assignments took him to Acadia, Lake Champlain, and the Saskatchewan, whence he was recalled to western Pennsylvania, where in 1753 he received Maj. George Washington on an embassy from Virginia. Two years later he was killed in battle.

[19] *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 269, 270.

and dissimulation, and finally, on May 30, 1737, abandoned their post with all its goods and belongings in order to save their lives.[20]

The site of St. Pierre's post is located approximately for us by Jonathan Carver, who visited it in 1766, and noted the ruins upon Lake Pepin. "Here," he says, "I observed the ruins of a French factory, where it is said Captain St. Pierre resided, and carried on a very great trade with the Naudowessies.* * * " In the next sentence he mentions Mount Trempealeau as sixty miles below this site.[21] The records would thus seem to show that the post near Trempealeau occupied by Linctot in the autumn of 1731, was maintained at the same site until the removal to the fort on Lake Pepin in the spring of 1736. Thirteen years later the French government established another Sioux post under the leadership of Capt. Pierre Paul Marin, a well-known Wisconsin commandant.[22] He was recalled two years later to serve on the Allegheny frontier, and his son Joseph succeeded to the command. The latter maintained his post for three years, but during the French and Indian War was obliged to withdraw the garrison and destroy the post—the last under French occupation upon the upper Mississippi.[23]

To recapitulate, the posts on the upper Mississippi[24] during the French régime so far as documentary evidence shows, were:

1. Perrot's wintering establishment, 1685–86.
2. Fort St. Antoine, probably 1686–89.[25]

---

[20] *Ibid.*, 269–74.

[21] Jonathan Carver, *Travels* (London, 1778), 56.

[22] For a sketch of this officer, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XVII, 315, note.

[23] Edward D. Neill in Macalester College, *Contributions* (St. Paul, 1890), 1st ser., 214, 218, locates Marin's post on the west side of Lake Pepin near Frontenac, Minn.

[24] The posts at and below the mouth of the Wisconsin are not included in this survey.

[25] Fort St. Antoine and Fort Perrot were identical. Before he had seen Franquelin's map, Neill postulated two separate forts—Perrot and St. Antoine. This he impliedly withdraws in his article in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, X, 300. Lyman C. Draper perpetuates Neill's error in his discussion, *ibid.*, 358. He was interested in refuting Butterfield on the Prairie du Chien post, and accepted Neill's earlier statement without comparison with his later conclusions. This error of two forts, Perrot and St. Antoine, is repeated in Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, IV, 93, 94.

3. Le Sueur's trading post on Pelée Island, 1695–99.
4. Fort Beauharnois, 1727–28.
5. Linctot's post, probably 1731–36.
6. St. Pierre's post, 1736–37.
7. Marin's post, 1750–55.

The writer believes that the first and fifth of these posts were located near Mount Trempealeau, and that there is much reason to think that the exact site has at length been discovered and explored.

Chicago's First Great Lawsuit

By Eugene E. Prussing

The case, the story of which is told in the following pages, may not have been Chicago's first lawsuit, but it probably was Chicago's first great lawsuit. It is entitled Forsyth et al. v. Nash and was begun in the court of the parish and city of New Orleans where it was decided in favor of the plaintiffs. It was then appealed to the Supreme Court of Louisiana in and for the Eastern District and there disposed of in June, 1816, in favor of the defendant.[1]

The case of Forsyth et al. v. Nash has two claims to importance, aside from the immediate question whether or not Jeffrey Nash, a negro, should be returned to the plaintiffs as a runaway slave.

In the first place it set the seal of condemnation upon the reputation of the plaintiffs, one of whom was John Kinzie, the reputed "father of Chicago" and the other, his partner and kinsman, Thomas Forsyth, not because it disclosed that they claimed to be slaveholders, for there were many such in Illinois Territory at that time, including the governor, Ninian Edwards, but that they sought to hold Nash as a slave by virtue of a forged bill of sale, void, it is true, under the law, but none the less a fraud.

Secondly, it involved the questions, there necessarily and rightly decided by the Court, which the Supreme Court of the

[1] For the report of the case, see 4 Martin's Reports (Old Series) 385 (Louisiana). See also on the same general subject *Century Edition of The American Digest* (St. Paul, 1903), 44, 1095–1111. The historical aspects of the case have been treated by M. M. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest, 1673–1835* (Chicago, 1913) 150–52. The paper here printed was originally read by the author before the Chicago Literary Club on the evening of Nov. 16, 1914. As delivered it included the citation from Quaife, which has been excised from the paper as here printed.

United States is said unnecessarily and wrongly to have decided in the famous Dred Scott case forty years later.[2] The latter also affirmed that a black man could not raise the question of his right to freedom in the federal courts, because he was not a citizen of the United States, and could not sue in its courts.

If these claims to distinction are sustained, the case may fairly be described as a great one. The immediate facts concerning the transaction to which it owed its origin are succinctly stated in the following extract:[3]

> On May 22, 1804, articles of indenture were entered into which bound Jeffrey Nash, a "Negro man", to serve John Kinzie and Thomas Forsyth, "Merchants of Chicago," for the term of seven years. The instrument describes Nash as an inhabitant of Wayne County, although it was executed, apparently, at Chicago. The Chicago of 1804 was located in Wayne County, Indiana Territory, whose county seat was Detroit, over three hundred miles away. In return for meat, drink, apparel, washing, and lodging "fitting for a servant," Nash bound himself to the maintenance of an utterly impossible standard of conduct. Doubtless the quaint language of the indenture simply followed the customary form of such documents; it can scarcely have been expected that the bound man would live up to its numerous stipulations.
>
> Nash signed the instrument by making his mark. It might reasonably be concluded, even in the absence of other information concerning him, that this indenture practically reduced him to slavery. That Kinzie and Forsyth chose to so regard Nash's status is shown by their treatment of him. He was taken to Peoria, Forsyth's place of residence from 1802 until 1812, and for many years held by the latter as a slave. At length he ran away from his bondage and made his way to St. Louis, and eventually to New Orleans, where he was said to have had a wife and children. Forsyth and Kinzie sought to recover possession of him and to this end a suit was instituted in the parish court; the case went ultimately to the Supreme Court of Louisiana, where an interesting decision was rendered.

The document which Kinzie and Forsyth and Nash signed and witnessed purports to have been executed "Enterchangebly" by the parties, but Nash probably never had a copy, this phrase being like many others, merely a legal fiction. Fortunately, the document has been preserved,[4] and it is thus possible to print it here:

> This Indenture Witnesseth that Jeffre Nash (Negro man) of the County of Wayne hath put himself servant and by these presence doth bind himself

[2] Dred Scott v. Sandford, 19 Howard Reports 393.

[3] Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 150, 151.

[4] The document is one of the Forsyth papers in the Draper Collection (1T1) of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

voluntarily as a servant to Mess[rs]. Kinzie & Forsyth Merchants of Chicago to serve said Kinzie & Forsyth their heirs or assigns after the manner of a servant to serve from the day of the date hereof for and dureing the full Term of seven Years next ensuing dureing all which time he the said servant his said Masters shall faithfully serve their Secrets keep their lawfully Command every where gladly Obey—he shall do no damage to his said Masters He shall not wast his Master's goods nor lend them unlawfully to others He shall not commit Fornication nor contract Matrimony within said Term, At dice Cards or any unlawfull game he shall not play whereby his said Masters may be damaged with his own goods or the goods of others dureing the said Term without licence of his said Masters he shall neither buy nor sell he shall not absent day nor Night from his said Masters service without their leave nor haunt Taverans or any plase or places without permission From said Masters but in all things behave himself as a faithfull Servant ought to do dureing the said Term and the said Masters shall provide for him the said Servant sufficient meat drink apparal washing and Lodgings fitting for a servant dureing said Term and for the true performance of all and every the said Covenants and agreements Either of the said parties bind themselves unto the other by these presents,— In Witness whereof the[y] have Enterchangebly put their hands and seals this twenty second day of May in the Year of our Lord one Thousand Eight hundred and four.

Signed sealed and delivered
in presence of Us — Kinzie & Forsyth
James Forsyth — his
John Lalime — Jeffre + Nash
Witness[es] — mark

Endorsed: Jeffry Nash Indenture 1804

The continuation of the story of the relations of Nash and his masters is found in the report already referred to, of the decision of the Supreme Court of Louisiana in the case of Forsyth et al. v. Nash. The marginal digest of the decision reported reads:

A negro will be presumed free, tho' purchased as a slave, if the purchase was made in a country in which slavery is not tolerated, unless it be shewn that he was before in one, in which it is.

The decision itself is reported in the following language:

Appeal from the court of the parish and city of New Orleans.

Martin, J. delivered the opinion of the court. The plaintiffs in this case claim the defendant, a negro man, as their slave. It therefore behooves them to show slavery *in him* and property *in them.**

The evidence adduced for this purpose is:

1, A bill of sale by which the defendant was sold to them "to have and to hold the said negro man, and to dispose of him, as they shall think proper."

*But see Trudeau's Ex's vs. Robinette, January term 1817.

This instrument, bearing date the 5th of September, 1803, was executed at Detroit, in the territory of Michigan, was there recorded, and is duly authenticated.

2. The deposition of David Delaunay, who swears he knows a Mr. Forsyth, at St. Louis, whose christian name he is ignorant of, but knows not the other plaintiff; that there was at Detroit, a mercantile house, under the firm of Kinsey & Forsyth, but he is ignorant whether Mr. Forsyth of St. Louis be one of that house; that he saw the defendant at Mr. Forsyth's in St. Louis, but does not know to whom he belonged.

3. The deposition of Nicholas Girod, who swears that, while he was mayor of New Orleans, the defendant was brought before him, and confessed he was a runaway and belonged to some person, the name of whom the witness does not recollect, who had promised him his freedom.

4. The deposition of A. B. Duchouquet, of St. Louis, who swore he never saw the defendant in the possession of the plaintiffs, because the plaintiffs lived at Peoria, in the Illinois territory; that the plaintiff, Forsyth, employed him in 1813, to stop the defendant; that he took him up in New Orleans and brought him before the mayor, where he confessed he had ranaway from the plaintiffs, and did not like to return to them on account of a wife and children he had in New Orleans.

5. The deposition of Pierre Le Vasseur, who knew the defendant in Peoria in the Illinois territory, about ten years ago. He was known and reputed to be a slave; the witness knew him in the possession of Forsyth for four years. He ranaway from Peoria, about six years ago: the witness some time after met him at Mauportuis, in the Illinois territory, and the defendant said he was ranaway from his master and was going to St. Louis.

On these facts the counsel contends that the slavery of the defendant and the property of the plaintiffs are fully proven.

I. The evidence of *slavery* resulting from the color of the defendant, (*Adelle* vs. *Beauregard*, 1 *Martin* 183,) from his declarations that he had a *master*, that he *belonged* to a man who had promised him his *freedom*, from his attempt to justify his unwillingness to return, by the circumstance of his having a wife and children in New Orleans, thereby tacitly admitting the obligation he was under of returning to the plaintiffs.

II. The *property* of the plaintiffs is said to be proven by the bill of sale.

The defendant's counsel shews that in the territories of Michigan and the Illinois, the only places, except New Orleans and St. Louis, which the defendant appears to have inhabited, *slavery does not exist;* that it is *forbidden by law.* The ordinance of congress of the year 1797 [1787], providing that "there shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, in the said territory, otherwise than for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been convicted. Provided that any person *escaping into the same,* from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original states, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her services as aforesaid."—Hence in the opinion of the counsel, a presumption arises that the defendant is free, which overweighs the contrary presumption which arises from the *color.*

It is further contended that as the bill of sale could convey no title, unless the defendant had been *duly convicted of a crime,* or in case he owed services in one of the original states, and *had escaped* into the Michigan territory, the plaintiffs are bound to bring the defendant within one of these two cases; that if the defendant was convicted of a crime, by which he became bound to involuntary services, the record of this conviction ought to be produced; so ought, in the other case, evidence of the duty of involuntary service, in one of the original states and of *escape into the territory;* that the apparent unlawfulness of the authority, exercised by the plaintiffs over the defendant, to which he may have submitted from his ignorance of his right or of the means of asserting it, is not repelled by his admission that he had a *master,* that he *belonged* to a person who had promised him his *freedom.* For while it appears that the plaintiffs *de facto,* though not *de jure,* kept the defendant for a number of years in servitude, it cannot seem extraordinary that he should refer to them by the appellation of his *masters,* and the alleged promise of freedom may well be presumed to have been made to allure the defendant into submission. Neither is it said, can the admission of the defendant, that he *ranaway* be received as conclusive evidence of a legal obligation to stay: flight from unlawful servitude being more generally resorted to, than the bold assertion of freedom. Kept for a number of years, perhaps from his birth, in bondage, the spirit of the injured negro is said to have been borne down, by the influence which long exerted mastery creates.

We are of opinion, that as the case affords no evidence of any residence of the defendant, in any country in which slavery is lawful, this case must be determined by the laws of the country in which the defendant dwelt when he came to the hands of the plaintiffs—that the ordinance of 1787, having proclaimed that slavery should not exist there, unless under two exceptions; the plaintiff[s] must bring the defendant under either of them, and having failed to do so, must have their claim rejected.

Whenever a plaintiff demands by suit, that a person whom he brings into court as a defendant, and thereby admits to be in possession of his freedom, should be declared to be his slave, he must strictly make out his case. In this, if in any, *actore non probante absolvitur reus.*

Here the plaintiffs have failed in a very essential point, proof of the alleged slavery of the defendant.

Their title can only have been lawful, at the time the bill of sale produced was made, on two grounds: the right of the vendor, or the liability of the object of the sale, must have been absolute or qualified. *Absolute,* viz. complete ownership and slavery, in the sole case of conviction of a crime by which freedom was *forfeited. Qualified,* viz. the right of reclaiming and conveying the defendant out of the territory into one of the original states, in which he owed involuntary servitude or labour. This qualified right could only exist in the case of the defendant's *escape.*

Now, it cannot be contended that this qualified right only was disposed of: that, which is the evident object of the sale, is the absolute right *to have and to hold during the natural life and to dispose as they please.* The conduct of the plaintiffs, towards the defendant, shews that it was this absolute right which

they considered themselves as the purchasers of. This they unlawfully attempted to, and did successfully for a number of years, exercise, till the defendant sought his safety in flight. Their title to him, if it exists, must be grounded on his conviction of a crime. Now the evidence of this, is *a matter of record:* the paper must be produced or accounted for.

The parish court erred in sustaining the plaintiff's claim. Its judgment is therefore annulled, avoided and reversed, and this court doth order, adjudge and decree, that there be judgment for the defendant with costs.

Morse for the plaintiff; *Moreau* for the defendant.

"Thus," observes Quaife, "did the Supreme Court of the slave state of Louisiana uphold the free character of the soil of Illinois, and rescue a free man from bondage, at a time when slavery openly flourished here, and slaves were bought and sold and held in bondage even by such prominent characters as the governor of the territory."[5]

A recent thoroughgoing search of the records still preserved in Detroit shows no record of such bill of sale as was produced at the trial, though several other documents between 1800 and 1820 in which Kinzie and Forsyth were parties appear there.

The great political question involved in the decision was not raised, namely: Did Congress have the power to agree to the Ordinance of 1787, when in 1789 it confirmed it during the first Congress under the Constitution of the United States and assumed to forbid slavery in territories of the United States? This question was one of the two great issues raised in the Dred Scott case, the other being, did Congress have the power to forbid slavery in that part of the Louisiana Territory north of the state of Missouri, as was done by the act of 1820, known as the Missouri Compromise?

It is curious to trace the subsequent history of the Nash case and to find that it was cited on both sides by the judges in conflicting opinions. It is the earliest reported case, so far as appears, which involves the effect of the Ordinance of 1787. A number of cases subsequently arose in the border states north and south of the Ohio River, but until a later Kentucky case,[6] the decisions of the courts were almost uniformly to the same effect as the Nash case. As the political question developed and became acute, however, the Southern states reversed their attitude and the trouble culminated in the Dred Scott case and the Civil War.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 152.

[6] Graham v. Strader and Gorman, 5 Ben. Monroe's Reports, 173.

The first reported case in Louisiana in which the influence of Forsyth et al. v. Nash was shown was that of Elizabeth Thomas, F. W. C. (free woman of color) v. Generis et al., decided at New Orleans by the Supreme Court of Louisiana, in December, 1840.[7] This case also arose in Illinois, and the facts and the ruling of the court are as follows:

Plaintiff, who is a mulatto woman, and whom the defendant purchased as a slave, from one Vanlandingham, sues for her freedom. She alleges that she was born free; that by some means or other, Vanlandingham got possession of her when she was a child and conveyed her to Kentucky, where he held her in slavery until November, 1833, when she was carried to Shawneetown, in the State of Illinois, where she permanently resided, with the consent of her former master, until February, 1837; that she was taken to the parish of Jefferson, in this State, and sold by Vanlandingham to the defendant. She further states, that according to the laws of the State of Illinois, she was emancipated by her residence therein, even had she been a slave when she first entered the State. She prays for judgment, declaring her to be free. Defendant pleads that plaintiff is a slave for life, that he bought her for such from Vanlandingham, denies all the allegations contained in her petition, calls his vendor in warranty, and prays that he be dismissed, with costs, and for judgment against his warrantor, as the case may turn out. The district court gave judgment in favor of the plaintiff, decreeing her to be free, and also gave judgment in favor of the defendant against his warrantor, for the price of the slave. From this judgment, the defendant and his warrantor both appealed.

The evidence shows that the warrantor purchased the plaintiff as a slave, in the State of Virginia, in or about 1814; that he brought her to his farm in Kentucky, where she remained as a slave, until about the year 1832 or 1833: that plaintiff being then sick, wished and requested to be transported to Shawneetown, in the State of Illinois, to be there put under the care of an eminent physician, by whom she expected to be cured; that during the warrantor's absence, she was taken over to Shawneetown, within the knowledge and with the consent of his overseer; and that she resided in Illinois until the year 1837, when she was brought down to Louisiana, and sold to the defendant by the warrantor. It is also in evidence, that the warrantor had a house and store in Shawneetown, that his family resided there for some time, that plaintiff lived at her master's house in that place, and that the warrantor was there himself at various times. A respectable witness also swears that Vanlandingham told him that plaintiff went to Illinois, with his (warrantor's) knowledge and consent. The constitution of the State of Illinois was produced in evidence, and by the art. 6, sect. 1, it is declared that "slavery or involuntary servitude shall not be thereafter (after 1819) introduced into that State," and by the second section of the same article, it is declared that "no person bound to labor in any other State shall be bound to labor in Illinois." Judge Scates, who was examined and gave his opinion as a lawyer on the above articles of

[7] 16 Louisiana 483.

the constitution of Illinois, says, that, "in his opinion, a residence by a slave from another State, in Illinois, with the consent of the owner and slave, would never operate an emancipation of the slave, but if it were against the will and consent of the slave, she would become free *immediately*." He further gives it as his opinion that the consent or non-consent of the owner is immaterial; if the slave be held in *involuntary* servitude in Illinois, she becomes immediately free by the constitution; but that cannot be involuntary to which *she consents*, by the said constitution. He further says that there has never been any decision of the supreme court of said State upon the first and last cases stated in his answer, but that upon the other case of involuntary servitude, there are several decisions in favor of liberty, although they were restrained under indentures of service, which were held to be defective under the constitution.

After some discussion of these facts and the law applicable, the Court quotes from one of its former decisions, as follows:

The fact of a slave being taken to a country, where slavery or involuntary servitude is not tolerated, operates on the condition of the slave, and produces immediate emancipation.

It then continues with its opinion:

This question is now far from being new in our jurisprudence, and its solution by us, in this case, depending merely on the facts shown by the record, must be in accordance with that of the inferior court.

The opinion of Judge Scates, who was examined as a witness, and which is relied on by the appellants, however respectable it may be, must yield to the principle so well recognized by our laws that a slave has no will, and cannot give any consent; voluntary servitude, in the strict sense of the word, is unknown to us, and whenever an individual, who is not a slave, binds himself to labor for another, his consent becomes the subject of a civil obligation or contract. This court cannot regard any act, admission or consent of a person held in slavery, as operating to deprive him of a right to freedom. [Forsyth v. Nash] 4 Martin, 385.

* * * * * * * *

It is therefore ordered, adjudged and decreed, that the judgment of the district court be affirmed, with costs.

The next time the Nash case was cited was in a famous and leading case decided by the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1847, entitled, Jones v. Van Zandt.[8] This was a suit brought in Ohio by a Kentuckian against a citizen of the former state to recover a penalty of $500 under the fugitive slave law of 1793 for concealing and harboring his fugitive slave. The Court below

[8] 5 Howard 215.

divided in opinion and certified the questions involved to the Supreme Court of the United States for decision.

Salmon P. Chase, afterward chief-justice of the United States, was the defendant's counsel below, and in the Supreme Court at Washington there was associated with him, William H. Seward. Opposing them was J. H. Morehead, as counsel for the plaintiff. The chief questions submitted to the Court were:

1. Is the fugitive slave law of 1793 in violation of the Constitution of the United States?

2. Is it in violation of the Ordinance of 1787?

The Court unanimously held that the fugitive slave law was valid. It cited Forsyth et al. v. Nash, however, to the effect that the Ordinance of 1787 and the laws of the several states forbidding slavery were in full force as to non-fugitive negroes.

The concluding paragraph of the opinion of the Court which follows the citation of Forsyth et al. v. Nash answers the political arguments made in the case, and that answer formed the basis for the rise of the Free Soil and Republican parties in which the eminent counsel took so great a part and through which they finally won a decision in their favor.

Said the Court, by Justice Woodbury:

> Before concluding, it may be expected by the defendant that some notice should be taken of the argument, urging on us a disregard of the constitution and the act of Congress in respect to this subject, on account of the supposed inexpediency and invalidity of all laws recognizing slavery or any right of property in man. But that is a political question, settled by each State for itself; and the federal power over it is limited and regulated by the people of the States in the constitution itself, as one of its sacred compromises, and which we possess no authority as a judicial body to modify or overrule.
>
> Whatever may be the theoretical opinions of any as to the expediency of some of those compromises, or of the right of property in persons which they recognize, this court has no alternative, while they exist, but to stand by the constitution and laws with fidelity to their duties and their oaths. Their path is a strait and narrow one, to go where that constitution and the laws lead, and not to break both, by traveling without or beyond them.

Two other cases decided in the Supreme Court of the United States about this time, in which the Nash case was not cited by the Court, nevertheless involved similar questions. The famous case of Prigg v. The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania[9]

[9] 16 Peters 539.

(1842) held that an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania forbidding the removal of fugitive slaves from that state, for the purpose of enslaving them, was unconstitutional; and the case of Strader et al. v. Graham[10] that it was exclusively in the power of Kentucky to determine for itself whether the employment of slaves in another state should, or should not, make them free on their return to Kentucky.

Meanwhile, the state of Missouri had been following the doctrine of the Nash case in a series of cases in which the facts were peculiarly similar to those which afterward arose in the Dred Scott case in the same court. The Supreme Court of Missouri in 1824 in the case of Winny v. Whitesides,[11] in 1828 in La Grange v. Chouteau,[12] in 1833 in Julia v. McKinney,[13] in 1836 in Rachael v. Walker,[14] and in 1837 in Wilson v. Melvin,[15] held the doctrine that taking slaves into Illinois or into Louisiana Territory north of Missouri, freed them and that the courts of Missouri, when such slaves were brought into that state, would declare them free.

A brief history of the Dred Scott case may not be out of place. Scott's claim to liberty for himself, wife, and children was based on two facts. He had been voluntarily taken by his master, a surgeon in the United States army, to the United States military post at Rock Island in 1834 and held there as a slave until 1836; thence he was taken to Fort Snelling, Minnesota, then a part of Louisiana Territory north of the Missouri Compromise line, dedicated to freedom by the act of 1820. At the latter place he married a slave, similarly brought by her master, an officer in the United States army, from slave territory, and two children were born to them in free territory. Subsequently, the entire family was removed by its owners to Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, and Scott sued for his freedom, first in the state court. The case is entitled Scott v. Emerson. A verdict and judgment

[10] 10 Howard 82.
[11] 1 Mo 473.
[12] 2 Mo 20.
[13] 3 Mo 270.
[14] 4 Mo 350.
[15] 4 Mo 592.

in Scott's favor resulted,[16] and Doctor Emerson in 1852 appealed to the Supreme Court of Missouri.

After the rise of the Free Soil party and the great Compromise procured by Henry Clay's dying efforts in 1850, in which the Missouri Compromise was practically repealed, a new fugitive slave law was enacted and the question of slavery was supposed to have been settled forever. The Supreme Court of Missouri was divided in opinion, two of the judges voting to reverse the judgment in favor of Dred Scott and the chief-justice dissenting. The decision not only reversed Scott's case, but also the entire series of previous decisions made by the same Court to which I have referred. The majority of the Court in its opinion uses this language:[17]

> Cases of this kind are not strangers in our courts. Persons have been frequently here adjudged to be entitled to their freedom, on the ground that their masters held them in slavery in territories or States in which that institution was prohibited. From the first case decided in our courts, it might be inferred that this result was brought about by a presumed assent of the master, from the fact of having voluntarily taken his slave to a place where the relation of master and slave did not exist. But subsequent cases base the right "to exact the forfeiture of emancipation," as they term it, on the ground, it would seem, that it is the duty of the courts of this State to carry into effect the constitution and laws of other States and territories, regardless of the rights, the policy or the institutions of the people of this State.

Then the Court says that the states of the Union, in their municipal concerns, are regarded as foreign to each other; that the courts of one state do not take notice of the laws of other states, unless proved as facts, and that every state has the right to determine how far its comity to other states shall extend; and it is laid down, that when there is no act of manumission decreed in the free state, the courts of the slave states cannot be called to give effect to the law of the free state. Comity, it alleges, between states, depends upon the discretion of both, which may be varied by circumstances. And it is declared by the court:

> Times now are not as they were when the former decisions on this subject were made. Since then not only individuals but States have been possessed

[16] The decision in the lower court is not reported.

[17] 15 Mo 576.

with a dark and fell spirit in relation to slavery, whose gratification is sought in the pursuit of measures, whose inevitable consequence must be the overthrow and destruction of our government. Under such circumstances it does not behoove the State of Missouri to show the least countenance to any measure which might gratify this spirit. She is willing to assume her full responsibility for the existence of slavery within her limits, nor does she seek to share or divide it with others.

Chief-Justice Gamble dissented from the other two judges, in the following language:

In this State, it has been recognized, from the beginning of the government, as a correct position in law, that a master who takes his slave to reside in a State or territory where slavery is prohibited, thereby emancipates his slave: * * * These decisions, which come down to the year 1837 seem to have so fully settled the que[s]tion, that since that time there has been no case bringing it before the court for any reconsideration until the present. In the case of Winney vs. Whitesides, [18] the question was made in the argument, "whether one nation would execute the penal laws of another," and the court replied in this language, ("Huberus," quoted in 4 Dallas 375,) says, "personal rights or disabilities, obtained or communicated by the laws of any particular place, are of a nature which accompany the person wherever he goes."

He further observed that in the case of Rachel v. Walker, the act of Congress known as the Missouri Compromise was held as operative as the Ordinance of 1787.

While the Dred Scott case was pending in the Supreme Court of Missouri, Doctor Emerson, his owner, sold him and his family to a Mr. Sandford, a resident of New York, and after the case came back to the local court in St. Louis, it was agreed between the counsel for Scott and Sandford that because of the diversity of citizenship of the then parties to the suit a case should be begun in the United States Circuit Court, and that the case in the local court should await the decision of the one in the United States court.

Chicagoans have an especial interest in the Dred Scott case since R. M. Field, the father of their famous fellow-citizens, Eugene and Roswell M. Field, was Dred Scott's counsel throughout the long litigation over his freedom, and by his self-sacrificing and persistent efforts laid the foundation for subsequent events of most momentous character.

[18] 1 Mo 473.

According to the agreement noted Dred Scott sued Mr. Sandford in the United States Circuit Court, for damages, because the latter held Scott and his family as slaves. This was the form of action usual for the purpose of asserting one's freedom. If the plaintiff recovered, the right of himself and the members of his family to freedom was thereby established. If he failed, he and they remained slaves.

The result of the trial was that Scott and his family were denied their freedom.[19] The case was appealed and in the Supreme Court of the United States it was twice argued, and the opinion filed on March 6, 1857, two days after President Buchanan, in his inaugural speech, had foreshadowed the opinion as a basis for the belief that the slavery question would thereby be disposed of for all time. The opinion of the majority of the Court, each of the judges filing a separate opinion as was then usual in cases involving constitutional questions, was to the following effect:

1. The decision in the Kentucky case,[20] that the question whether or not Scott was a slave, was a local question, in which they would be governed by the decision of the Supreme Court of Missouri, even though that decision reversed a long series of contrary decisions which for forty years had constituted the settled law of the state, was reaffirmed.

2. That Scott, being a slave, was in no sense a citizen of the United States, though the Constitution provided that slaves should be represented in the lower house of Congress to the extent of three-fifths of their number in the apportionment of representatives, and the Constitution elsewhere referred to them as "persons held to labor."

3. That Scott's removal to Rock Island by his master was in pursuit of his duties as an officer of the United States army and therefore not voluntary in the sense necessary to free Scott. That Fort Snelling to which place he was later removed was in the territory of the United States, and that the act of Congress in 1820 forbidding slavery north of the Missouri Compromise line was beyond the power of Congress and unconstitutional, so that it availed Scott nothing toward his freedom.

[19] This decision is not reported, but it is referred to in the decision rendered somewhat later by the United States Supreme Court.

[20] Strader et al. v. Graham, 10 Howard 82.

The political effect of the decision is history. Our present interest is with the Nash case. Justice Campbell, in the opinion filed by him concurring with Chief-Justice Taney in the decision of the case, declared, among other things:

> that in general, the *status*, or civil and political capacity of a person, is determined, in the first instance, by the law of the domicil where he is born; that the legal effect on persons, arising from the operation of the law of that domicil, is not indelible, but that a new capacity or *status* may be acquired by a change of domicil. That questions of *status* are closely connected with considerations arising out of the social and political organization of the State where they originate, and each sovereign power must determine them within its own jurisdiction.

He then cited the Nash case, among others, as authority for the following proposition:

> A large class of cases has been decided upon the second of the propositions above stated, in the Southern and Western courts—cases in which the law of the actual domicil was adjudged to have altered the native condition and *status* of the slave, although he had never actually possessed the *status* of freedom in that domicil.

One might suppose that with the final decision of the Dred Scott case in the Supreme Court of the United States, the course of Forsyth et al. v. Nash as authority was run. But the question of slavery, like the tail of the snake, lived even after the body was dead, and in 1871 this case was again cited as authority, this time in Osborn v. Nicholson,[21] a decision by the United States Circuit Court in and for the District of Arkansas, written by Justice Caldwell, who for forty years sat on that circuit.

The case was one of many brought in that state and others to recover on promissory notes and other contracts given for the purchase of slaves before the war, against the payment of which the debtors pleaded the emancipation of the slave, and, in this particular case, the reconstructed constitution of Arkansas made in 1868, which expressly declared void all contracts of that character. Bills of sale for slaves contained a covenant that the slave was a slave for life and it was pleaded that there had been a breach of this warranty so that the holders of notes could not recover.

[21] 1 Dillon 219.

Judge Caldwell was a very vigorous man, who always held strong views, and one can imagine the joy with which he cited in his opinion in this case the Dred Scott case in support of his view that the note in question was void. In the course of his opinion referring to the fugitive slave provision of the Constitution of the United States, he cited among others the case of Forsyth et al. v. Nash as indicating that "the courts uniformly held that if a master voluntarily permitted his slave to go into a free state, or attempted to travel with his slave through a free state, the slave was a free man the moment he entered the free state." Then after setting forth at length the extraordinary views of the Supreme Court of the United States announced in the Dred Scott case in support of the supposed sovereign power of the state of Missouri to deal as it pleased with slaves within its borders, he continued:

> A majority of the court maintained that the right of the state of Missouri over the subject of slavery within her borders was supreme, thus in effect, holding that this right was paramount to the obligations of a marriage contract.
>
> Now if this power of the states over the institution of slavery was so absolute and uncontrollable as to authorize them to destroy the obligation of the most sacred contract known in civil society, in the interest of slavery, it would be strange indeed, if they did not possess the power to annul slave contracts in the interests of freedom, humanity, and morality. It is a pleasing reflection to know that the law laid down in this celebrated case, and which was believed by many to be at variance with the rights of freedom, can now be quoted in support of, and is a full authority for, the "rights of the states" to abolish slavery, and obliterate all contracts relating to it.

A. H. Garland, afterwards attorney-general under President Cleveland and formerly a member of the Confederate Congress, was plaintiff's counsel, while Judge Rose, a noted legal writer, represented the defendant. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States and there on April 22, 1872, the decision of the lower court was reversed[22] under the authority of the Dartmouth College case, there being no power to impair the obligation of contracts and the alleged breach of warranty constituting no defense. The line which follows the decision of the Court has a pathetic significance. It is: "The Chief Justice [Chase] dissented in this case * * *"

This constitutes the entire story of the monument of Jeffrey Nash. Whether or not John Kinzie was in anywise responsible

[22] 80 U S (13 Wallace) 654.

for that fraudulent bill of sale and the deception of the Louisiana courts for which it was used in the dastardly attempt to make a slave of a free man, will perhaps never be determined. The discovery of the Nash contract with its relation to the Nash case, and the publication of the story prove that it is not always safe to honor the memory of a man even more than sixty years after his death; while the persisting influence of the wrong attempted to be done to Nash, in its effect upon those responsible for it, again proves the great truth written by Schiller in *Piccolomini*, "It is the curse of evil deed that it must, constant, evil breed."

A Forgotten Community: A Record of Rock Island, the Threshold of Wisconsin

By Hjalmar R. Holand

Off the extreme northeastern corner of Wisconsin lies a little island about a mile square. It is situated in the middle of the mouth of Green Bay, storm-lashed by all the heaving seas of Lake Michigan. On the north and west its castellated limestone ramparts rise in perpendicular grandeur from the lake to the height of a hundred feet and more. On the south and east, however, its shores slope gently down until their sands blend with the lapping waves of the inland sea. From shore to shore the interior is now covered with a majestic mantle of forest green, shrouding a solitude which for fifty years has been unbroken by human habitation. Only upon the northern cliff sits a watchful lighthouse keeper, turning his gleaming light throughout the night upon the dark waters to warn away the wind-swept mariner from the dangerous coast he is guarding.

Seventy years ago this isolated little Island, now ruled over only by the "murmuring pines and hemlocks," was the home of an energetic community of about a hundred people. Their snug homes lined the eastern shore and their sailboats ventured far out to sea for fish and fun. Up on the hillside a number of early Wisconsin pioneers are laid away to rest, and in a log schoolhouse whose very site is forgotten many worthy citizens of this State and Michigan have learned their A B C's.

Rock Island, the subject of our sketch, was well known to the early French explorers under the names of Potawatomi Island and Louse Island.[1] It is without doubt the first place in Wis-

[1] The name Potawatomi Island was applied to the entire group including the present Washington Island. The term "Louse" is a corruption of the

consin visited by white men. When Jean Nicolet in 1634 passed through the Straits of Mackinac, the customary Indian route was along the shore of the northern peninsula of Michigan until the present Point Detour was reached. There the natives crossed the mouth of Green Bay touching on the shores of Rock Island and followed the west shore of the Door County peninsula to the Winnebago capital at Red Banks. Later, travelers from the interior ordinarily followed the west shore of the peninsula until they came to Rock Island, then the "Grand Traverse" was made across Lake Michigan to the southern peninsula. By either route Rock Island was the threshold of Wisconsin.[2]

The first permanent American settlers on Rock Island were John A. Boone, Neil McMillan, James McNeil, George Lovejoy, David E. Corbin, Jack Arnold, and Louis Lebue. Most of these were fishermen and trappers who came from the island of St. Helena in the Straits of Mackinac in 1835 or 1836. As they were the first settlers in the northeastern part of the State outside of the settlement at Green Bay, a brief mention of their personalities will be desirable.

---

original French name; the French abbreviated the word Potawatomi (often spelled by them Poutouatami) to *Les Poux*, by which they intended the Indian tribe, not the insect.—Ed.

[2] It is not thought that in Nicolet's time these islands were inhabited, but sometime after 1641 the Potawatomi tribe fleeing from enemies in the lower Michigan peninsula took possession of them, and there remained about nine years. Then upon another alarm, they retreated to the western coast of the bay, where the Huron, in 1651, driven before the Iroquois, settled temporarily on one of these islands which was then called Isle Huronne. The Potawatomi returned about 1658 or 1660, and were probably found there by Radisson, Groseilliers, and Nicolas Perrot, early fur traders to Wisconsin. The first map on which these islands are named is that of Father Galinée, who was at Sault Ste. Marie early in 1670. He made a digression as far as these islands, opposite which he wrote on his map "Baye des Puteotamites Il y a dix journées de chemin du Sault ou sont les R. R. S. P. P. J. J. aux puteotamites C'est a dire environ 160 lieues. Je n'ay entré dans cette Baye que Jusques a ces Iles que j'ay marqueés." (Puteotamite Bay. It is a journey of ten days from the Sault where the Reverend Holy Father Jesuits are to the Puteotamites that is to say about 160 leagues. I have entered into that Bay only as far as these islands that I have marked.) La Salle in 1679 found on these islands a village of the Potawatomi, although others were scattered along the lakeshore towards Milwaukee. The village on the islands gradually became of less importance, and when in 1721 Charlevoix passed them he speaks of them as the "old-time abode of these Savages."—Ed.

John A. Boone was a quiet, apt-spoken man who, without thrusting himself forward, was always looked upon as the leader of the community that grew up on the Island. He had evidently spent his entire life on the frontier, as he spoke the Chippewa dialect like a native and fully understood the Indian character. These accomplishments later served him well when he was the means of averting a very threatening Indian war. He was a married man when he settled on the Island, and lived there until his death in 1866, when he was fifty-two years old. A little white-painted cedar cross still marks his grave on the Island.

Neil McMillan was Boone's partner, but of him nothing more is known.

George Lovejoy had been a sergeant in the United States army, having seen five years' service at the frontier post of Fort Howard, during which he had taken part in expeditions of various kinds to the Indians. He was a hunter of fame in many parts of northeastern Wisconsin and an eccentric bachelor of remarkable capacity for almost anything he undertook. He could beat an Indian on a trail, and he astonished the sailors by building on Lake Michigan one of the best schooners with which he traded along the shore. His commercial qualities were crude, however, and barren of success. He was an expert with the violin and a master ventriloquist. Sometimes he would go out on the ice when an Indian was fishing and make the trout talk back to its captor in the most approved Chippewa dialect, to the poor Indian's terrorized amazement. This, with his reckless bravery and easy skill in every undertaking, made the Indians look upon Lovejoy as a veritable demon, and they were always most anxious to propitiate his favor by gifts of all kinds. In one direction, however, Lovejoy was anything but brave. That was in his attitude toward the fair sex. When suddenly confronted by a woman he was struck dumb with embarrassment and often fled precipitately. This failing of his was the cause of many broad jokes played on him by the mischievous young folks of the little community.

To James McNeil belongs the honor of being the first taxpayer in Door County. He owned the entire south shore of Rock Island. He was an old bachelor of a very penurious disposition, with a failing for whisky. He was very close-mouthed about his own

affairs except when the jug arrived from Chicago. Under its stimulus he would become very confidential and would prate with tipsy garrulity of his "yellow boys," which, he confided, would support him in comfort when he should retire. By "yellow boys" he referred to his store of gold coin, which, unfortunately, became his undoing instead of his support. One morning the poor old man was found beside his chicken coop wounded and unconscious. When he came to, he shouted, "Boone! Boone!" in agonized appeal. Boone, who was justice of the peace, was quickly summoned, but by the time he appeared McNeil had passed away, taking the secret of his murder with him. No positive clue to the murderer was ever obtained, but it was believed that a strange craft that had been seen in the vicinity contained the criminals. For some time there was much hunting in the potato patch and among the crags for the old man's treasure but nothing was found.

Both David E. Corbin and Jack Arnold were old soldiers who had been sergeants in the War of 1812. Corbin was the first lighthouse keeper in Wisconsin, being in charge of the Rock Island lighthouse (the first in Wisconsin) from its construction in 1836[3] until his death in 1852. Arnold stayed with Corbin in the lighthouse because they were such inseparable cronies. They rarely ever conversed but were apparently able to read each other's thoughts. When finally Arnold sickened and died in 1848 Corbin watched by his bedside with ceaseless vigilance, caring for him with the greatest tenderness.

Of all these men Louis Lebue is the only one from this section whose name is mentioned in the territorial census of 1836.[4] In 1843 he had the misfortune to lose his wife, who was buried on the Island. This unsettled him, and he departed for Chicago, the rising metropolis of the West. On Calumet River, near Chicago, he made the acquaintance of some men by the names of Miner and Luther. Henry D. Miner was the son of a clergyman who, as early as 1828, had settled at Kaukauna as a missionary among the Indians. The following year he died of fever at this place.[5] His boy, Henry,

[3] See the reference in Kemper's "Journal" in 1834 to choosing a site for this lighthouse. *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIV, 442.—Ed.

[4] *Id.*, XIII, 253.—Ed.

[5] Rev. Jesse Miner was born in 1781. He became a missionary to the Stockbridge Indians in New York in 1825; in July, 1827, he visited Wisconsin on behalf of his neophytes, and removed with them and began a mission at Kau-

who was then eight years old, returned to his relatives in New York.[6] In 1842, however, he returned to the West accompanied by his brother, T. T. Miner, and Job, Seth, and Brazil Luther. In the spring of 1844, Lebue met these men and told them of the easy living that could be made on Rock Island by fishing. He showed them how to repair and knit twine, and initiated them into the mysteries of the piscatorial art. As a result he sold them his outfit, whereupon in June, 1844, they moved up to Rock Island to become the forerunners of a steady advance of settlers to this distant region. Job Luther had a vessel and at intervals he freighted fish down the lake and fishermen up, until after three or four years there were upwards of fifty men, many of them having families, living on Rock Island. Nearly all of these people came from Lemont, near Chicago, and were known as the Illinois Colony. Among them was an old man by the name of Kennison, who lived to be the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party.[7] There were also Chauncey Haskell, and Robert, Sam, and Oliver Perry Graham, who came from Ohio. The last mentioned later became the founder of Sturgeon Bay.[8] There were also many others who later moved to distant parts.

Nearly all of these people lived along the sandy east shore of Rock Island where they constituted the first community in the county. And a very contented community it was. The fish were

---

kauna in June, 1828. The following Mar. 22, 1829, he died and is buried in the cemetery at Kaukauna. See his letters and the account of his death in *id.*, XV, 39–43, 45–48.—Ed.

[6] The letter, cited in *ibid.*, 46, says Henry was three at the time of his father's death. If, however, he returned west in 1842, he must in all probability have been eight in 1829.—Ed.

[7] For a sketch of David Kennison's remarkable career, see Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, 255–57. He was a veteran of our two wars with Great Britain, and a soldier of the Fort Dearborn garrison from about 1804 to 1812. Among other claims to distinction he is supposed to have been the father of twenty-two children and to have lived to the age of 115 years. At his death in 1852 he was given one of the most imposing funerals Chicago has ever witnessed and today lies buried in beautiful Lincoln Park, his resting place being marked by a massive granite monument erected in 1905 by local patriotic societies.—Ed.

[8] Oliver Perry Graham was born in Ohio in 1816; in 1848, he entered the land where Sturgeon Bay now stands, and in 1855, was chairman of the first committee on county organization. See his letter in Charles I. Martin, *History of Door County* (Sturgeon Bay, 1881), 77, 78.—Ed.

plentiful and very large, often only ten to fifteen being required to fill a half-barrel. In the woods was an abundance of game and in the little garden patches of the settlers potatoes and other vegetables grew luxuriantly. Apples and berries in abundance grew wild in the woods, and there was no lack of firewood with which to keep warm in wintertime. It was a free and easy life to lead, somewhat indolent and uncouth, without taxes or sociological troubles of any kind. Their chief handicap was their distance from any post office through which to learn the news of the outside world. The most accessible one was Chicago, three hundred miles away. Mail intended for the settlement was usually directed as follows: "H. D. Miner, Rock Island, care of Williams, Chicago, Illinois." On his occasional visits to the metropolis, Job Luther would get the little bundle of Rock Island letters and newspapers, often many months old. On such visits he would also lay in ample stores of tea and tobacco, boots and biscuits, soap, sugar and soda, coffee and calico, and all the other staples which T. T. Miner carried for sale in his little store on the Island. Besides these things he was also entrusted with a multitude of private requisitions, such as a mouth organ or a fowling piece for a young hopeful, or a bonnet or a brocade for one of the fairer sex. Such fineries were needed to do honor to the occasional weddings, funerals, and other events of importance. Weddings were of rare occurrence and while of transcendent interest were usually not attended with any ceremonial, being in the absence of church and organized state only "common law marriages." Now and then a contracting couple was found who felt the need of the blessing of the church upon their union. This, however, was difficult of attainment. On one such occasion H. D. Miner was drafted into service to tie the knot. The cause of his selection was that a certain faint glow of sacerdotal dignity was attributed to him by reason of the fact that his father had died as a missionary to the Indians. Miner complied, and with all the unction he was capable of, joined together Henry Gardner and Elizabeth Roe, the first marriage ceremony to be performed in Door County. One of Miner's companions, who had been disgracefully beaten at poker, felt that this was usurping too much authority; he accordingly went about fomenting trouble and a lawsuit was threatened, which afforded food for gossip for a long time.

Another wedding is recalled by the old pioneers with much relish. It was a big affair in which two Norwegian couples were joined in wedlock, and fishermen from many shores had gathered to celebrate the double feast of love and liquor. As usual, there was no clergyman to officiate, but a humble visiting evangelist was drafted into service. He had no license to perform a marriage ceremony, but he was anxious to please his prospective converts and consented to officiate. It was a new undertaking for him, and being nervous and not knowing the contracting parties, he made the unfortunate blunder of marrying the two men to each other and then the two women. The two Norwegian bridegrooms on their part had but little knowledge of the English language and only a very dim notion of the procedure at an American wedding. They, however, had a vivid impression that it was their part to answer "yes" when spoken to. When, therefore, Ole Olson was asked if he would take John Johnson for his wife and vice versa, an energetic "yes" was the response to the uproarious acclaim of the assembled guests. It was not until the young exhorter was similarly joining together the two brides, who, by the way, were sisters to begin with, that the officiating witnesses rallied their wits and interposed, whereupon a fresh start was made.

Dependent on the lake as these people were and exposed to all its squalls, hairbreadth escapes on the water were quite frequent. While thrilling adventures were common, the fishermen were so used to Neptune's whims that comparatively few fatalities occurred. Now and then, however, one would be caught unawares and go down to his watery grave. A notable instance of this was the drowning of the Curtis family.

Newman Curtis joined the Illinois Colony in the later forties. In the summer of 1853, he went with his family, consisting of his wife, daughter, and newborn baby, to St. Martin's Island to fish. After a successful season he prepared to return in the fall to his permanent home on Washington Island. He was accompanied by his nephew, W. W. Shipman, and Volney I. Garrett, two young boys.

As Mr. Curtis had a quantity of household goods and freight he rented an old heavy-built schooner, which in early days had outridden many a storm but was now considered too unwieldy

to be safe. But as it is but eight miles between the two islands the little party started off without fear. All went well until the vessel was drawing quite near to Washington Island where its occupants could almost see their little white cottage among the trees on shore. By this time the fair wind that had favored them had gained in force until a storm was blowing and the old schooner began to creak and roll heavily. In doing this she took in a great deal of water as the top seams were quite open. The pump was kept going but in spite of this the vessel settled fast and soon was so water-logged as to be quite unmanageable. When just outside of Indian Point, on which the seas were rolling terrifically, those on board realized that in all probability the schooner would sink before she would be dashed on the rocks, not a hopeful alternative. Curtis and Garrett, therefore, prepared to lower the yawl while Shipman went down to fetch the baby who was still sleeping in an upper bunk oblivious to its peril.

At this juncture a heavy sea dashed over the vessel from stern to stern, tearing away the frail grip of the Curtis girl on the cabin to which she was clinging, and washing her overboard. This wave was followed by another which tore loose the yawl, throwing it into the sea endwise and pinning Curtis underneath it. When he finally came to the surface he was so overcome by his exertions and bruised by the blows he had received that he was unable to swim the few feet that separated him from the yawl which floated away filled with water. Upon seeing sudden death thus overtake her daughter and husband, Mrs. Curtis for a moment forgot her own peril and stretched out her arms to them screaming in anguish. Instantly she, too, was washed overboard.

By this time Shipman, drenched with water, had emerged from the cabin with the baby in his arms. He made for the remaining hatch, reaching it simultaneously with Garrett, who also seized it. "Who takes the hatch takes the baby," shouted Shipman, thrusting the baby toward his companion. Garrett, however, with an oath refused this handicap. The next moment they were all thrown into the water. Clinging to the hatch, Shipman and his charge made land safely, where they were soon joined by Garrett, clinging to the submerged yawl. The next morning the battered bodies of the Curtises were found on the beach and were buried on Rock Island.

It would give the writer much satisfaction if he could record, in the fashion of novelists, that this child, rescued from the very jaws of death, grew up to become a great man in his country. Unfortunately, the stern realities of life often disregard the law of compensation, and this was not to be. The child was entrusted to the affectionate care of an aunt in Joliet, Illinois, where he developed into a most promising and winsome boy. When he was nine years of age a neighboring washerwoman, who admired the little fellow, presented him with a small sailboat. The boy was delighted with this toy, and deciding it was too big to sail in a washtub, took it to the canal. There, while leaning over watching the sailboat with childish rapture, he fell in and was drowned.

Besides the Illinois Colony and other white settlers, there were about fifty wigwams of Chippewa Indians on Rock Island, living under the leadership of their renowned chief, Silver Band. The two communities got along very well together except on one occasion when open war was threatened. It happened in this way. Among the whites was a widow by the name of Oliver. She had three boys, one of whom, Andrew, was a half-grown fellow. Widow Oliver was much broken down over the loss of her husband; but was nevertheless in great demand for nursing the sick, at which she was very capable. Her boy one day took her place in the kitchen where he was peeling cold boiled potatoes. Some of the Indian urchins noticed this through the partly opened window, and soon there was a group collected, their noses pressed flat against the glass, making grimaces at the white youth and calling him "squawman." This was too much for the willing Andrew, who suddenly threw a cold potato at the leader of the band of mockers. He, however, dodged the missile which, with splinters of glass, struck an innocent little bystander full in the eye—the seven-year-old son of Chief Silver Band. The screaming sufferer, bleeding profusely, was hurried to his father's tepee, and soon the Indians were seen rushing excitedly back and forth. The white settlers, on hearing what had happened, felt that a crisis was imminent, and sent Henry Miner to parley with the chief. He was met at the door and gruffly told to go away. Others attempted to interview the Indians, but without gaining a hearing. The whites were fast

becoming terror-stricken for they knew that at any moment a signal could be sent to neighboring Indians on Washington Island, and they would have no chance against the overwhelming numbers that might be brought against them. Some of the more reckless favored taking time by the forelock and making a sudden onslaught upon Silver Band and his people. "If not," they declared, "we will surely be massacred in our beds." Others, more timid, recommended rather that Andrew Oliver be killed and brought before the enraged chief as a fitting sacrifice. In the midst of this hubbub John Boone arrived. He could talk Chippewa fluently and was highly esteemed by Silver Band. Taking the weeping Widow Oliver by the hand he made his way to Silver Band. In well-chosen words he reminded the chief of their earlier associations. He called up one picture after another of the chief's greatness in war, cunning in battle, and mighty prowess in hunting the bear and the buffalo. He told of how wisely Silver Band had conducted the affairs of his people as chief, keeping them out of trouble of all kinds, showing magnanimity to his foes, and gaining the esteem and confidence of the white people. He concluded:

> And now I am glad that so magnanimous a chief as Silver Band rules his people. Children play, children quarrel, children get hurt. It is easy to be magnanimous when another's child is hurt, but not so easy when your own child, the pride of your eye, suffers. Another chief, less noble than Silver Band, would let rage master him, and thus bring everlasting trouble upon himself, his people, and his neighbors. Not so with my brother, the great chief Silver Band, the lord of the Chippewa. He suffers, but he forgives.
>
> And now I bring you this woman to be your handmaiden. She is weak of body and crushed with grief that her son should unwittingly have brought this evil upon his little playmate, your son. But her hands are skilled in the mixing of potent medicinal herbs, and she can nurse your child to life.

Soothed, complimented, and exalted by this skillful discourse, the chief sat silent. Finally he rose, extended his hand to Boone, and led Widow Oliver to the couch of his suffering boy. There she remained nursing him unremittingly until he was able to go about again, blind, however, in one eye.[9]

---

[9] When last heard from Andrew Oliver was at the head of a manufacturing establishment in Allegan, Michigan. The Indian boy, Kezias, is now the chief of the same band of Chippewa with headquarters on the peninsula of northern Michigan, between Big and Little Bay de Noquet, where he is also their priest and teacher.—H. R. H.

In 1854, Rev. William B. Hamblin, a Baptist evangelist, visited Rock and Washington islands. He was an ardent idealist and often taking his texts from the sublime scenery and majestic elements around him, preached rousing sermons. Quite a revival resulted with wholesale baptisms, especially among such as were considered seasoned sinners. A church was organized with most of its membership among the people of Rock Island. John Boone was chosen deacon. This was the first church organized within the county, and it is still in existence on Washington Island.

While a private school had been maintained for many years in a desultory way, it was not until 1863 that Rock Island secured a public school. During the following winter the school was taught by Miss Roselia Rice, who later became the wife of Joseph Harris, one of Door County's prominent citizens.

By this time, however, the fortunes of Rock Island were on the decline. In the fifties and early sixties when other parts of Door County began to be occupied, the exodus from Rock Island began. The Island's lack of good harbors, and the inconveniences attendant upon its isolation, more than outweighed the greater profits derived from its fishing. One by one the old-timers slipped away to seek their fortunes in other parts. Some of the buildings were removed while others mouldered away. It is now long since the Island's last loyal denizen bade good-by to his romantic habitation. Where once stood the village of the Illinois Colony wild roses now grow and the rabbits and chipmunks frisk undisturbed over the knoll that marks the site of the old schoolhouse. Up on the hillside lie the bones of John Boone, Silver Band, Newman Curtis, and all the other worthy men who played a man's part in their day; the moss of the forest has garbed their graves, and their aspirations, and their deeds are alike forgotten.

Outline Map of Region of Proposed Barrier State

British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782-92: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State

By Orpha E. Leavitt

The policy of the British government toward the United States during the decade following the close of the Revolutionary War was for the most part one of opportunism. In one important point, however, it was the result of careful deliberation on the part of the home government. The instructions given by the ministry manifest a constant desire for peace with the United States. Contrary to the opinion of some American writers it may be affirmed that at no time, during this period, did either the British government at London, or its agents in Canada, desire war between the United States and the Indians of the Northwest Territory.

From the viewpoint of British-American relations the decade under consideration may be divided into three periods. During the first—the years 1783-86—except for the provision made for the Loyalists and the necessary military arrangements pertaining to the close of the war, Canadian affairs were practically left to the discretion of General Haldimand, commander-in-chief of the military forces in Canada and governor of Quebec. During these years the ministry did little more than receive his reports and approve his measures. The main feature of his policy, in so far as it affected the United States, was to retain the friendship of the Northwestern Indians for the protection of Canada and the retention of the fur trade. He also suggested the retention by the British of the frontier posts, and strictly excluded the Americans from all navigation of the Great Lakes.

From 1786, after the appointment of Lord Dorchester as governor-general of Canada, until 1790, Great Britain was waiting for

the fulfillment by the United States of the latter's part of the Treaty of 1783, a delay occasioned by the obstructive debt laws of the several states. Meanwhile the British retained the northwestern posts as a pledge for America's fulfillment of her treaty obligations.

After 1790, however, a change of British policy, involving the desire for adjustment by treaty of the unsettled relations between the two countries, took place. In 1792 the efforts in this direction took the form of an attempt to secure, through mediation between the United States and the Northwestern Indians, a neutral barrier Indian state extending the entire length of the Canadian border.

In the study here presented attention is confined chiefly to the attempt in 1792 to realize the projected Indian barrier state.

At the close of our War for Independence in 1782, Englishmen recognized that Great Britain, with not only her rebellious colonies, but also France and Spain to consider, could scarcely expect to obtain advantageous terms of peace. Adherents of both political parties, however, particularly those who were interested in Canada, felt that the provisions of the treaty had been unnecessarily liberal to the United States, especially with regard to the land cessions.[1]

More immediate and far-reaching in its effect upon the subsequent relations of the United States with Great Britain, was the dissatisfaction of the Indian allies of the latter nation occupying the trans-Allegheny country included in the cession. With the first rumor of peace proposals, General Haldimand, commanding in Canada, urged upon Townshend[2] the necessity for a delicate and tactful handling of the Indian problem:

> From an apprehension, Sir, that the Disposition of the Indians, and the indispensable necessity of preserving their affections may not be Sufficiently understood at Home, I think it my duty to assure you that an unremitting attention to a very nice management of that People is inseparable from the safety of this Province, which has been indisputably preserved hitherto in a great measure by their attachment. They must not be considered subject to

[1] William Cobbett (ed.), *Parliamentary History* (London, 1806–20), XXIII, c. 373–571. See also Lord Grenville's speech in the House of Lords, May 26, 1794. William Woodfall, *Impartial Report of the Debates that Occur in the Two Houses of Parliament* (London, 1794–96), IV, 138–40.

[2] Thomas Townshend, Home Secretary during Lord Shelburne's ministry.

Orders or easily influenced where their Interests or Resentments are concerned. Great pains & Treasure were bestowed to bring them to act. They have suffered much in the cause of the War in their Lives & Possessions, in So much that, the Mohawks, who were settled in Ease & Affluence, have entirely lost their country—the rest of the Six nations (the Oneidas excepted) have been invaded, & driven off their Settlements. They have so perpetually harassed the Enemy that they Cannot look for Reconciliation upon any other terms than Abandoning the Royal Cause. They are Thunder Struck at the appearance of an accomodation So far short of their Expectation from the Language that has been held out to them, & Dread the Idea of being forsaken by us. * * *"

In their resentment, he continues, they "reproach" the British "with their ruin," the consequences of which might be "very fatal."[3]

The treaty had already been signed and the existing ministry was about to fall, when the dispatch reached Shelburne. Under these circumstances Townshend advised Haldimand to act toward the Indians as seemed best in view of the peace.[4]

American settlers were already passing the so-called "Property Line"[5] established by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix in 1768. News of the terms of peace and the encroachment upon their lands, was all that was needed to kindle Indian suspicion and impatience into a threatening hostility.[6] Brant,[7] representing as he said "all the King's Indian allies," recounted to Haldimand the fidelity of the Indians to the king's cause and their sufferings and losses during the war, and demanded a "decisive answer" to the

[3] Oct. 23, 1782. See *Michigan Pioneer and Historical Collections*, X, 662.

[4] Feb. 28, 1783. See "Calendar of State Papers" in Douglas Brymner (ed.), *Report on Canadian Archives*, 1885, 308. Cited hereafter as *Can. Archives*.

[5] This line followed the Ohio and Allegheny rivers to the site of the present city of Kittanning, Pa.; thence due east to the westernmost branch of the west fork of the Susquehanna River. The line was called by the Indians the "Ohio Boundary."

[6] General Haldimand to Allan McLean (commandant at Niagara), April 26, 1783, in "Calendar of the Haldimand Collection, II," in *Can. Archives*, 1886, 64; McLean to A. S. DePeyster (commandant at Detroit), June 26 and July 8, 1783 and DePeyster to McLean, June 18 and July 7, 1783, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 128, 130, 136, 138, 140, 146, 149; *Journals of Congress* (Philadelphia, 1777–1801), IV, 218; Draper Mss., 11F11; Haldimand to Lord North, Aug. 6, 1783, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 378; *ibid.*, 139.

[7] Joseph Brant (Thayendanegea), chief of the Mohawk tribe and leader of the Confederacy of the Six Nations or Iroquois Indians.

question whether they and their lands had been turned over to the enemy.[8]

In response, Haldimand, in a speech delivered by Sir John Johnson in council with the Indians at Sandusky, assured both the Six Nations and the Western Indians that the "right of Soil belongs to, and is in yourselves as Sole Proprietors, as far as the boundary Line agreed upon and Established in the most Solemn and public manner in the presence and with the consent of the Governors and Commissioners deputed by the different Colonies for that purpose: by your late worthy Friend Sir Wm. Johnson in the year 1768, at Fort Stanwix."[9]

But the Indians were growing suspicious of the promises and good faith of their allies and, despite the fact that he had offered them a refuge in Canada, Haldimand felt that the situation demanded immediate redress. He purchased a tract of land, north of Lake Erie on Grand River, sent surveyors at once to lay out and assist in building the settlement and provided provisions and implements.[10]

At the same time that Haldimand was assuring Indian representatives that they were the "sole proprietors" of the lands reserved to them by the Treaty of Fort Stanwix, Congress was reaching certain definite conclusions regarding the Indian situation. Its policy, concretely stated, included three distinct points: That the Indian lands were to be considered as conquered territory; that the frontier lands were pledged for the payment of the national debt; and that the state of the public finances did not admit of expenditure to extinguish the Indian claims to the soil.[11] Meanwhile, western immigration was steadily progressing and

---

[8] Speech of Brant at Quebec, May 21, 1783. Ms. in Canadian Archives, ser. Q, XXVI, pt. 1, 5.

[9] Report of the Indian Council at Sandusky, Ohio, Aug. 26–Sept. 8, 1783. See *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XX, 174–83.

[10] Haldimand to Sir John Johnson, superintendent of Indian Affairs, May 26, 1783, in *ibid.*, 123, 185, 190, 224. See also Haldimand to Johnson, Mar. 22, and April 12, 1784, in "Haldimand Collection, I," in *Can. Archives*, 1886, 416, 420; Draper Mss., 11F16; Haldimand's report to the ministry, Mar. 16, 1785, in Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXV, 295.

[11] Washington to William Duane, Sept. 7, 1783, in W. C. Ford (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington* (New York, 1889–93), X, 303–11. See also *Journals of Congress*, IV, 293–96.

Indian suspicion and hostility were increasing in corresponding measure.

Such was the situation in the autumn of 1783 when the first suggestion for the retention of the posts on the Canadian frontier was put forth by Haldimand, in a letter to Lord North:[12]

> Your Lordship will observe that the object of their general Confederacy is to defend their country against *All* invaders; In case things should proceed to extremities the event, no doubt, will be the Destruction of the Indians but during the contest, not only the Americans, but perhaps many of His Majesty's subjects will be exposed to Great Distresses. To prevent such a disastrous event as an Indian War, is a consideration worthy the attention of both nations and cannot be prevented so effectually as by allowing the Posts in the Upper Country to remain as they are for some time.

To this Lord Sydney replied:[13]

> The management of the Indians requires great attention and address at this Critical Juncture, and I am persuaded that our retaining Possession of the Posts will not even be detrimental to America, and may be the means of preventing mischiefs which are likely to happen should the Posts be delivered up whilst the resentment of the Indians continues at so high a pitch. I hope the people of America will treat them with Kindness, indeed if they consider it for a moment, their own interests would prompt them to do so, but if they should determine to pursue a different conduct, you may assure these unfortunate People that they will find an Asylum within his Majestys Dominions, should they be inclined to cross the Lakes and put themselves under our Protection.

Only the Mohawks and a few individuals from other tribes of the Six Nations accepted the offer of asylum in Canada. The Indian Confederation insisted on sending a delegation to England, a measure which Haldimand prevented only by promising to present and argue their claims to the ministry in person.[14]

---

[12] Haldimand to North, Nov. 27, 1783. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LVII, 602.

[13] Thomas Townshend, who was Home Secretary under Lord Shelburne, became Lord Sydney and held the same office in Pitt's ministry until 1789. See Lord Sydney to Haldimand, April 8, 1784. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, L, 152.

[14] Haldimand to Sydney, June 21, 1785, in "Cal. of St. Papers" in *Can. Archives*, 1890, 156. The correspondence between Haldimand and his subordinates before his departure for England shows that he would not risk evacuating the posts until the Indians were pacified. See Haldimand to Major Ross, Mar. 29, 1784, in "Haldimand Collection, I," in *Can. Archives*, 1886, 417; Haldi

After Haldimand's departure the storm center of Indian hostility passed from the Six Nations to the Western or Ohio Indians. The anger of the Six Nations had, for the time being, been pacified by a treaty guaranteeing to them the right to remain on the lands they occupied. The Western tribes were also called in council at Fort McIntosh[15] but representatives from only a few of the Northwestern tribes responded. To the Indians in attendance, the Commissioners of Congress explained that their lands were now conquered territory, and that they were dependent on the mercy and generosity of the United States.[16] They thereupon proceeded to draw up a treaty by the provisions of which the Indians released all claims to the land "east, south and west" of a tract of country on the south shore of Lake Erie between the lower courses of the Cuyahoga and Maumee rivers. In the spring Congress sent surveyors to lay off the land thus acquired for settlement and squatters began to pour into the country north of the Ohio. The tribes of the Northwest, alarmed at this situation, demanded the assistance of the Six Nations. They responded by repudiating their treaty with the United States. The Western tribes, in like manner, repudiated the Treaty of Fort McIntosh and the confederacy of all the Indians for the protection of all their lands once more became a vital factor in the Indian situation. Brant was sent to England not only to pre-

---

mand to Chevalier de la Luzerne, April 12, 1784, *ibid.*, 420; Maj. Robert Mathews to Daniel Robertson, Aug. 12, 1784, in *id.*, 1888, note E, 71. See also A. C. McLaughlin, "The Western Posts and the British Debts," in *Yale Review*, III, 408–24, IV, 58–79; J. G. Simcoe to George Hammond, Aug. 24, 1793, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 600–601.

[15] Fort McIntosh was located on the right bank of the Ohio River, thirty miles below Fort Pitt and near the mouth of Beaver Creek.

[16] *American State Papers, Indian Affairs* (Washington, 1832–61), I, 5.

General Harmar, stationed at Fort McIntosh, mentioned only four tribes as represented. Two of these were Wisconsin and Michigan Indians whose homes were remote from the Ohio River, the line of advancing settlement. He characterizes the speech of the commissioners as being in a very "high stile." Captain Doughty also wrote from Fort McIntosh to the secretary of war that the representation of the tribes was "very partial." See General Harmar to Dickinson, Jan. 15, 1785, Draper Mss., 1W32; Harmar to Governor Mifflin, Jan. 31, 1785, *ibid.*, 35; Capt. John Doughty to the secretary of war, Oct. 21, 1785, in William H. Smith (ed.), *St. Clair Papers* (Cincinnati, 1882), II, 9.

sent Indian claims for losses during the war but to ask the king's assistance in the protection of their lands.[17]

Brant reached London in December, 1785, and early in the following year, the ministry decided to pay the Indian claims, a measure which Haldimand had urgently pressed, "not only in consideration of their Past Services, but in proportion as it shall be thought necessary to preserve the Friendship of the Indians, in other words, *the possession of the Upper Country and the Furr Trade.*"[18] The Indian claims were to be paid because, indeed, it was to the British interest to pay them, but assistance in the protection of their lands was another matter. Lord Sydney, in his official report to Brant, avoids answering directly the request for assistance, dwells on the king's bounty in paying the claims and recommends that the Indians make peace with the United States, be united in making their agreements and moderate in their measures, a course of action "most likely to secure the rights enjoyed by their ancestors." It was obviously British policy to pay the Indian claims and, by pensioning Brant, secure his influence to maintain peace between the United States and the Indians.

Meanwhile, all negotiations of Congress with Canada for the transfer of the posts had proved futile, since Haldimand had not yet received orders for evacuation. Consequently, Adams was

[17] See Brant's letter to Sydney, Jan. 4, 1786, *ibid.*, 252–55; Sydney to Brant, April 6, 1786, *ibid.*, 255, 256; Alexander McKee to Johnson, June 2, 1785, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, X, 457; William L. Stone, *Life of Joseph Brant, (Thayendanegea): including the Border Wars of the American Revolution* (Albany, 1865), II, 252–57; Report of the Indian Council at Niagara, Aug. 2 and 3, 1785, "Cal. of St. Papers" in *Can. Archives*, 1890, 161; Major Campbell to Brig.-Gen. Barry St. Leger, Aug. 6, 1785, *ibid.*; Chiefs of Shawnee, Mingo, and Delawares to McKee, Sept. 20, 1785, *ibid.*, 164; Governor Hope to Sydney, Nov. 3, 1785, *ibid.*, 166; Johnson to Evan Nepean, Dec. 14, 1785, *ibid.*, 167.

Captain Doughty at Fort McIntosh reported to the secretary of war the hostile temper of the western tribes and assured him that the policy of Congress in claiming and surveying the lands of the Indians without purchase was "one great cause of their present uneasiness"; that a confederacy of all the tribes would be "formidable" and that he foresaw trouble unless measures were taken to conciliate the Indians. *St. Clair Papers*, II, 9, 10.

[18] Memorandums respecting Public Matters in the Province of Quebec submitted to the Consideration of the Rt. Hon. Lord Sydney by General Haldimand, 16th March, 1785. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXV, 295.

sent to England to confer with the home government. But British diplomacy had still before it the question of Indian policy, and until some settlement of this vital problem should be reached, Adams was not likely to get definite results.[19] Pitt told Adams that the subject of the posts was "connected" with the debts. Lord Carmarthen said that when the United States fulfilled her engagements, Great Britain would fulfill hers.[20] Yet up to this time the demands of the Indian situation rather than American infringement of treaty rights were responsible for delay. A careful review of the utterances of the British ministry to the United States government shows that, previous to this time, the infractions of the treaty of peace by the Americans were never given as a reason for the retention of the posts. However, they suggested to the British an excuse for holding the posts and for putting pressure on the United States to provide for the payment of the debts.

At any rate, Adams interpreted the promise of the ministry to mean that when the American states removed the obstructions to the collection of the debts, the British would evacuate the posts. Congress, therefore, acting on the report of Adams, recommended to the states the repeal of the obstructive acts, and by 1789 this had been practically completed.[21]

Did the British government take any steps on its part toward the fulfillment of its promise? We find that Phineas Bond, commissioner of commercial affairs, was sent over not only to observe the commercial situation but also to inform his government "how far the treaty of peace has been violated" and "to take fit measures" to obtain redress.[22] Again, in the autumn of 1786 one of the first measures of Lord Dorchester, governor-general of Canada and direct representative of Pitt's administration, was to sound

[19] Correspondence of John Adams and Secretary Jay, June-December, 1785, C. F. Adams (ed.), *Works of John Adams* (Boston, 1850–56), VIII, 257, 325, 357–59.

[20] Lord Carmarthen to Adams, Feb. 28, 1786. *Secret Journals of Congress, Foreign Affairs* (Boston, 1821), IV, 186–202; Adams to Jay, June 16, 1786. *Works of Adams*, VIII, 402.

[21] *Journals of Congress*, IV, 185–287; Dorchester to Sydney, April 10, 1787, in *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 97, 98.

[22] Phineas Bond to Carmarthen, Feb. 21, 1787. American Historical Association, *Report*, 1896, I, 521, *et passim*.

the Indians on the matter of evacuation.[23] And the following spring Maj. Robert Mathews, secretary to Lord Dorchester, was instructed "to make every possible enquiry respecting places of Embarkation and fit Posts upon the Lakes Ontario and Erie as substitutes for those at present occupied, in the event of their being given up to the United States of America. * * *"[24]

Indian hostility continued unabated. In fact, the natives were contemplating open warfare. Governor Hope[25] of Canada reported that Brant's attachment to Great Britain had evidently not been increased by his visit to London! Nevertheless, he had gone west to visit the tribes, presumably in the interests of peace.[26] But peace was further off than ever and Brant reported to the Canadian authorities that most of the Western tribes were "for fighting."[27] Indeed, their hostility had reached such bounds that all summer they had been killing the squatters, and before autumn the United States surveyors, though covered by a small body of troops, had been forced to abandon their work. Moreover, the commandant at Niagara reported the bad temper of the Six Nations whom he had scarcely been able to keep "within bounds."[28]

At the same time that Indian hostility had reached such alarming proportions, attention in the East was focused, for the moment, on the serious disorders in Massachusetts. But notwithstanding the assertions that the Indian danger was merely a "war scare," used for effect by our government, the evidence is clear that both

---

[23] Sir Guy Carleton had just previous to his appointment been made Lord Dorchester. He arrived in Quebec, Oct. 23, 1786. See Dorchester to Sir John Johnson, Dec. 14, 1786. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXI, pt. 1, 86.

[24] Mathews to Nepean, Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, July 9, 1790. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 94. See also Mathews to Haldimand, Aug. 3, 1787, *id.*, XX, 286–90.

[25] On General Haldimand's departure from Canada, Governor Hope was left in command.

[26] See Hope to Sydney, June 26, in "Cal. of St. Papers" in *Can. Archives*, 1890, 177. See also Brant to Nepean, April 11, 1786, *ibid.*, 172.

[27] Brant to Butler, Sept. 10, 1786, *ibid.*, 179.

[28] Butler to Hope, Oct. 5, 1786, *ibid.*, 180; Dorchester to Sydney, Dec. 11, 1786, *ibid.*, 182. See also letter from Major Ancrum, Oct. 13–20, 1786, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 35–39.

Americans and British on the frontier considered the danger very real.[29]

The gravity of the Indian situation was such that the United States began to raise a military force. Dorchester secretly reported the military preparations of the American government, and although he admitted that "disorders in Massachusetts" might be one reason for them, he believed that the "Upper posts are also comprised in their campaign," as the measure would be "popular among them." Then follows what is most significant for understanding the British point of view and British policy on the Canadian frontier during the whole period under consideration:

> The weak situation of these posts * * * seems to invite insult; the strongest of them depends on the savages for protection and these having neither national bands, nor subordination of any sort, cannot have that firmness necessary for great confidence.

He then goes on to say that if the posts are to be retained, reënforcements are an absolute necessity and concludes with the warning that:

> The most injudicious of all is *a no resolution* remaining in an impotent state, and yet holding these places in Defiance of powerful neighbors who have set their hearts upon them, and who sooner or later will certainly assault them, if left in their present situation.[30]

According to Dorchester's official report, there were "2000 troops extended 1100 miles in ruinous forts too weak to be de-

---

[29] Dispatches from the American commanders on the frontier during 1786 and the spring of 1787. Draper Mss., 1W128–366; in particular, Harmar to Secretary Knox, Oct. 10, 1786; Maj. John Finley to Harmar, April 16, 1787; Major Hamtramck to Knox, April 27, 1787. See also J. P. Warren, "The Confederation and the Shays Rebellion," in *American Historical Review*, XI, 42–67. Doctor Warren found his evidence on this point chiefly in the unpublished "Papers of the Old Congress" at Washington.

For the British viewpoint, see Dorchester to Sydney, Dec. 14, 1786. Ms. in Secret Canadian Archives, ser. Q, XXVII, 86; Dorchester to Sydney, Jan. 16, 1787, *ibid.*, 34.

United States troops patrolled the Ohio River to prevent squatters crossing into the Indian country. The fear of the Indian tomahawk was probably more effective in deterring them, and the abatement of encroachments removed for the time being the immediate cause of Indian hostility.

[30] Ms. No. 10 in Secret Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXVII, 34.

fended against any respectable force."[31] But this frontier force was not increased and therein lies the secret of British frontier policy.

However, the weakness of our own government for a time allayed his lordship's fears. Indian favor was purchased with supplies and presents, and Indian allegiance fostered by the retention of the posts, presumably in their behalf.[32] In brief, the Indians were to form a barrier for the protection of Canada, while the posts were held as a pledge for the British debts;

[31] The returns inclosed in the dispatch report:

Infantry Rank & File..	Lower posts	1300
	Upper posts	750
	Total	2050
Artillery	Lower posts	145
	Upper posts	47
	Total	192

See Dorchester to Sydney, Nov. 8, 1787, Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXVIII, 178, 183; printed in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XI, 508, 509.

The upper posts were those on the Great Lakes. The principal ones were: Fort Oswego on Lake Ontario; Fort Niagara between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie; Fort Erie on the southeast shore of Lake Erie; Fort Lernault or Detroit at Detroit; Fort Michillimackinac on Mackinac Island.

Fort Detroit, which was nearest to the scene of hostilities, never had more than 315 men, rank and file, and twenty-eight or thirty-two in the artillery. See Reports on the State of Troops, published in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.:* for 1792, XXIV, 428–53; for 1793, *ibid.*, 606,607; for 1794, *id.*, XXV, 4, 5; for 1795, *ibid.*, 93. Wayne in his campaign in 1792–94 had about 3,000 men. The President had been empowered to raise 5,000 troops for the campaign.

[32] In the opinion of Lord Sydney, to "afford them active assistance would at the present moment be a measure extremely imprudent, but at the same time it would not become us to refuse them such supplies of ammunition as might enable them to defend themselves." Sydney to Dorchester, April 5, 1787. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXVII, pt. 1, 44. However, when Lord Grenville became Home Secretary, July 5, 1789, he instructed Dorchester that there was no change of system relating to the Indians and "Requisitions for arms, &c., to carry on hostilities against the Americans, should be prevented." "Cal. of St. Papers" in *Can. Archives*, 1890, 233. Dorchester rallied the Indians in defense of the posts. Brant was informed that these were held for the benefit of the Indians. See Dorchester to Johnson, Dec. 14, 1786. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXVII, pt. 1, 86; Johnson to Brant, Mar. 22, 1787, and Mathews to Brant, May 29, 1787, in Stone, *Life of Brant*, II, 266–72.

American military aggression was to be held in check by maintaining a formidable Indian confederacy and by granting the Indians supplies for defense.

Since during the last two years of our government under the Articles of Confederation, British officials were fully aware of the impotence of Congress, Great Britain rested tolerably secure in the knowledge that the United States was too weak to attack the posts in the face of a formidable Indian Confederacy. By 1790, however, the American political situation had completely shifted—a change which forced upon Great Britain a policy less dictatorial and more propitiatory in tone. The inauguration of Washington had infused new vigor into governmental affairs and by the end of July, 1789, the new administration was already firmly launched and considering the urgent western difficulties. By the middle of June the government's Indian policy had been completely reversed, and the essential principles of a new policy laid down. To the Indians was, henceforth, to be conceded the right to the soil of their lands; while settlement was to be restrained by postponing new purchases of Indian territory and prohibiting our citizens from intruding on Indian lands. As population increased and game diminished, new purchases were to be made and settlement so regulated as to form colonies within distinct limits under the direction of the government and troops were to be posted to insure the execution of the decrees.[33]

The next step was to provide for the protection of the frontiers. The President was empowered to raise federal troops against the Indians and Governor St. Clair was authorized to call militia from the states of Pennsylvania and Virginia.[34]

Having thus provided for the protection of the frontiers, and laid the foundations, as it was hoped, for better relations with the Indians, the President instructed St. Clair to investigate the portages between the Ohio River and the Lakes as forming con-

[33] Report of Knox to the President, June 15-July 7, 1789. *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 12, 52.

Marietta had been founded under the protection of Fort Harmar. Fort Washington was now established at Cincinnati to protect the Symmes colony founded the previous autumn. See Major Doughty to Harmar, Aug. 21, 1789. Draper Mss., 2W95.

[34] *St. Clair Papers*, II, 123, 125; Draper Mss., 2W111.

nections with the posts which he now expected to demand.[35] A week later, he instructed Morris, then in London, to act as the informal agent of the administration to sound the British cabinet regarding the fulfillment of the Treaty of 1783 and to ascertain if possible, its attitude toward a treaty of commerce.[36]

British agents had already suggested the advisability of some commercial agreement between the two countries.[37] The activities of the new government and the general "economic revival" called for a new line of action. The following April, the Duke of Leeds[38] informed Morris that Great Britain was ready for a commercial agreement. At the same time, he stated clearly that Great Britain had no intention of fulfilling her part of the Treaty of 1783 until she received "a fair and just compensation" for the infractions of the treaty on the part of the United States.[39]

This was the situation when news of the so-called Nootka Sound episode[40] not only overshadowed any discussion of commercial relations with the United States but contributed, for a time at least, to change the attitude of Great Britain. With the prospect of war with Spain in America, the diplomatic relations with the United States assumed a more important aspect. Lord Grenville[41] suggested to Dorchester that in case of war with Spain, the United States might take occasion to demand the posts, or that Spain, holding out the possession of the posts as an inducement, might secure the alliance of the United States. In a second secret dispatch to Lord Dorchester of the same date, he inclosed copies of the letters communicated by Morris and suggested that the letter from Washington "however vague and inexplicit it is, seems however to indicate some disposition on

---

[35] Oct. 6, 1789. *St. Clair Papers*, II, 125.

[36] Oct. 13, 1789. *Writings of Washington*, XI, 440.

[37] Dorchester to Sydney, Oct. 14, 1788, in *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 103. See also Bond to the Duke of Leeds, Nov. 10, 1789, in Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1896, I, 621–56.

[38] Secretary for Foreign Affairs until June, 1791.

[39] Gouverneur Morris to Washington, *Amer. St. Papers, For. Rel.*, I, 122; Duke of Leeds to Morris, April 28, 1790, in *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 129; Morris to the Duke of Leeds, April 30, 1790, *ibid.*, 130.

[40] This news reached London on the night of May 4. See "Private Diary of General Haldimand," for May 5, 1790, in *id.*, 1889, 281; Morris to Washington, May 29, 1790, *Amer. St. Papers, For. Rel.*, I, 123.

[41] William Wyndham Grenville became Home Secretary, July 5, 1789.

the part of the United States to cultivate a closer connection with this country than has hitherto subsisted since their separation from Great Britain," and that "although it was necessary, in the first instance in answer to Mr. Morris' letter, to hold a language of firmness, which should point out the non-execution of the Treaty on the part of America and the inadequate return for the liberal manner in which they have been treated in point of commerce, it will certainly be our object to establish if possible, a greater degree of interest than we have hitherto had in that country."

Upon receipt of Grenville's message, Lord Dorchester dispatched Major Beckwith[42] to New York "somewhat in a hurry," with instructions to ascertain the attitude of the American government and people regarding a possible alliance with Spain or expected assistance from France. In the event of their being disposed to be friendly, he was "to discover what might induce them to unite with us in the event of a war with Spain."[43]

British officials looked with alarm and misgiving upon the military preparations of the United States. In every action they saw the possibility of a forced relinquishment of the posts. Dorchester secretly reported that the American government was raising "a large body of troops," presumably to "repell the Indians," although he surmises that an Indian war would not need "so large a force," nor "so large a proportion of artillery"; that there were indications that the governor of the Northwest Territory was "to take possession of the approaches from the Ohio river by different streams to Lake Erie and Detroit"; in this he sees "a connection between the proceedings of Congress and those of the governor of the Northwest territory," whereby "these forces are to take possession of the frontier as settled by the treaty, to seize the posts and secure the furtrade."

He then reviews the weakness of the defenses of Canada. Although the posts had been repaired, Detroit[44] had from the beginning been only "a defence against Indians, and now its chief strength must be derived from their fidelity joined

[42] Probably the informal agent of Lord Dorchester in the United States. See Archivist's Report in *Can. Archives*, 1890, pp. xxxvi–xli.

[43] Dorchester to Grenville, July 7, 1790, and Dorchester to Major Beckwith, June 27, 1790, *ibid.*, note E, 143–45.

[44] The report of the barrack master at Detroit, June 24, 1790, gives 269 men, besides fifteen men in the artillery. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIII, 330.

with the militia of the place and the ability of the commandant." The inhabitants could not be "roused even in their own defence" and the defense of the province would inevitably fall on the troops with what small assistance the Loyalists might be able to afford. Transportation at any season was a difficult matter, and the transfer of troops in winter an impossibility. Every post would therefore "be left to its own defence and consequently must be expected to fall." In view of the situation, he advised that "The United States should bring forward a frontier treaty settling all past refractions, together with a treaty of commerce," which, with the opening of the navigation of the Mississippi, he considered "their true interest."[45]

Meanwhile, Morris was conducting informal negotiations with the British ministry. His request for an interview had been granted and on May 21 an informal discussion of the whole diplomatic situation took place. Pitt suggested that a review of the points at issue might result in mutual compensation whereupon Morris inquired if he desired to make a new treaty. Pitt admitted that it was "*in some sort* his idea," and when challenged by Morris with the desire to retain the posts, replied, "Why, perhaps we may." But Morris professed to be satisfied with the old treaty. He doubted if a better one could be formulated, and argued that the framers of the treaty had most discreetly separated the two countries by so wide a water, for near neighbors were seldom good neighbors. The British government, he urged, had violated the national honor by attempting to force upon the United States such conditions as she might wish to impose. The national honor of Great Britain, Pitt retorted, was fully as much concerned with American delay in the fulfillment of treaty rights. To this Morris replied:

> No, sir, your natural and proper course was to comply fully on your part and if then we had refused a compliance, you might rightfully have issued letters of marque and reprisal, to such of your subjects as were injured by our refusal. But the conduct you have pursued naturally excites resentment in every American bosom. We do not think it worth while to go to war with you for these

[45] Lord Dorchester probably refers here to a conversation between Beckwith and Alexander Hamilton reported by Beckwith to Lord Dorchester. See Dorchester to Grenville, Oct. 25, 1789, in *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 125, 126. See also Dorchester to Grenville, Mar. 8, 1790. Dispatch No. 18 in Secret Can. Archives, ser. Q, XLIV, pt. 1, 121–27.

posts; *but we know our rights, and will avail ourselves of them when time and circumstances may suit.*

Morris had no official power to treat; nevertheless, he offered to transmit to Washington any communication which the Duke of Leeds might write. The British ministry promised to consider the matter and report the result. "This," Morris reported, "I am yet to receive; but I learn that Mr. Grenville has this day consulted some persons skilled in the fur trade, and that, from his conversation, it seemed probable that they would give up the posts. *My information is good.*"[46]

The question now arises, was Morris' optimistic view of the probable transfer of the posts justified? Was his information "*good*"? A few days later Lord Grenville reported to Lord Dorchester that the subject was "under consideration."[47] We find also that on May 31 Haldimand records in his diary that Grenville inquired his opinion of the probable effect of the transfer of the posts on the fur trade, and of the possibility of retaining the trade by the fortification of posts on the opposite side of the Lakes. At the same time he believed that "a merit should be made of giving up the posts," and expressed a desire that a communication with the Mississippi might be obtained from the Americans. Haldimand's opinion was that "part [of the trade] would certainly be lost" but that this loss would perhaps be made up by the goods that the British merchants would sell to the Americans. He believed, however, that the Americans had sufficient forces to seize the posts when they desired, in which event Great Britain would not go to war to retain them.[48]

Major Mathews was likewise called upon to give a written opinion upon the same subject and Captain Schank submitted a report giving detailed information as to possible substitute forts on the British side of the Lakes.[49]

---

[46] Morris to Washington, May 29, 1790. *Amer. St. Papers, For. Rel.*, I, 124.

[47] Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XLIV, pt. 1, 152.

[48] "Haldimand's Diary," in *Can. Archives*, 1889, 287. Major Mathews' report was written from Plymouth Barracks, July 9, 1790. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 94–96.

[49] Detroit was the most important point in commanding the Indian trade in the Northwest Territory. It was also nearest the region of new American settlements in the Northwest and, consequently, nearest the region of possible war between the United States and the Indiáns. Considering this post, Cap-

Still more significant are two memoranda of Lord Grenville based on these reports. The first is endorsed:

"Memo. from Ld Grenville. Opinions of Capt Schank & Mr Inglis about the Posts."

The notations are as follows:

Capt Schank & Mr. Inglis.
Present state of the Posts. Their general utility as serving to defend our Frontier.
Possibility of applying the loss of them by others to be built within the British Boundary.
Would not new Posts be equally advantageous for the defence of the Frontier.
Particularly with respect to the Navigation of the Lake.
Have the Americans any vessels on the Lakes.
Can they have any while we hold the Posts.
Could they have any if we had other Posts.[50]
Would new Posts be equally advantageous for the free [fur] trade.
What is the proportion of that trade carried on to each of the posts.
What country are the furs chiefly brought from.

Following these questions he continues:

It appears that the chief part of the Fur Trade comes from parts to the N and E. of the Boundary line.
The great objection seems to be to the giving up Michilimakinac w^h c^d cut off the communication with Lake Michigan.
If we established Posts opposite to those in question & made Portages, they wd answer the same purpose with those we now have except at Michillimakinac.
The giving Oswego to the Americans puts them in possession of a port on the Lake Ontario with a communication to New York by means of the Oneyda & Mohawk Rivers. Capt Schank does not know of any other post on the American side of the lake, but he speaks doubtfully.

The second memorandum is endorsed:

Memo from Ld. Grenville. Mathews' ideas about the Importance of the Posts & of the necessity of removing 3000 Canadians into Upper Country from Detroit.

---

tain Schank reported a location on the Canadian side as equally good for a fort. Account of posts in Canada received from Captain Schank, May 31, 1790, *ibid.*, 90, 91.

[50] While the British held the posts they rigidly excluded the Americans from the navigation of the Lakes. See Haldimand's report to the ministry, Mar. 16, 1784. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, XXV, 295. See also Simcoe to Hammond, Feb. 3, 1793, *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 529; Simcoe to Alured Clarke, May 31, 1793, *ibid.*, 541; Clarke to Simcoe, June 24, 1793, *ibid.*, 557; Clarke to Henry Dundas, Aug. 8, 1793, *ibid.*, 586.

The notations are as follows:

The principal objection wh Major Mathews seems to state to the giving up the Posts is the fear of alienating the affections of the Indians, to whom our force stationed there is a protection against the Americans.

The same purpose might however in great measure be answered by building posts within the British Boundary & maintaining there the same degree of force wh. we now have.

At Detroit there is a considerable town of about 3000 Canadians. Some compensation must be made to them in addition to the expence of removal.

Sr. Fred. Haldimand & Major Mathews both agree that the Posts, (including Niagara) are quite incapable of being defended against the Americans altho' some of them might hold out longer than the rest.[51]

If then, from the British viewpoint, most of the furs came from the British side of the boundary line; if British merchants could still retain most of the trade though the posts be relinquished; if equally good locations for forts existed on the British side of the boundary line; and if the friendship of the Indians could in great measure still be retained by establishing substitute posts, there was certainly little to lose by transferring the posts to the British side of the Lakes, unless the ministry intended, if possible, "to make a merit of giving them up." The loss of Michillimackinac would cut off the British from Lake Michigan and a communication via the Mississippi was greatly to be desired. It might be, therefore, that Pitt's hint of a new treaty carried with it the possibility of so modifying the Northwest boundary as to further British trade interests. On the other hand, the retention of the posts might involve great danger. If the obstacles to the collection of British debts had practically been removed, there was no plausible excuse to retain the posts. If American resentment had been unduly aroused; if the military organization of the new government was sufficient to demand the posts; if, as Morris boldly challenged, "*we know our rights, and will avail ourselves of them when time and circumstances may suit,*" the Spanish danger seemed to provide a propitious opening for American hostilities. Mediation would, it appeared, be the most prudent policy to pursue.

The American government had at length determined upon retaliatory measures. Military organization with the avowed purpose to intimidate hostile Indians was being steadily pushed for-

[51] These memoranda are printed in full from the Canadian Archives in *ibid.*, 90, 91.

ward. Secretary Knox took the precaution to inform the commandant at Detroit that the campaign was in no way directed against the posts. The suggestion of Governor St. Clair that the United States establish a military post at the Miami village[52] was rejected by the government. Considering the expense and delay such an expedition would involve, the plan did not appear feasible. The suddenness of the blow, it was hoped, would intimidate the hostile Indians and prevent the necessity for another campaign.[53] Yet the raid did not accomplish the purpose for which it had been designed. St. Clair reported that the expedition, commanded by General Harmar, surprised and burned "four towns," but the Indians could not be brought to "a general action." They had been in part victorious, and marauding continued as before. It was evident that a more effective campaign was necessary.

British accounts represent that the Indians, fearing an attack upon the Miami village, had dispatched messengers to summon the aid of other tribes. Before assistance could arrive, the American army was already approaching, and to prevent its occupation by the invaders the Indians burned the town. British traders reported that their cattle, arms, and ammunition had been seized but that they had been permitted to remove part of their trade cargo. However, the sympathy of the traders was evidently with the Indians, induced, doubtless, by the fact that their interests in part coincided and that it had been hinted that the Americans would consider their goods as fair plunder.

British accounts relate also that after defeating the Americans in two skirmishes, the assisting tribes with characteristic lack of persistence retired. Deserted by their allies, the Indians demanded assistance from the British commandant at Detroit, threatening,

[52] In the vicinity of the present city of Fort Wayne, Ind. It was the most important center of Indian trade between Detroit and the Lakes and the Ohio River.

[53] Knox to St. Clair, Aug. 23, 1790, in *St. Clair Papers*, II, 162; St. Clair to Major Murray, Sept. 19, 1790, *ibid.*, 186; Major Smith to St. Clair, Oct. 14, 1790, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 102. Jefferson opposed the instructions given to St. Clair. See Paul L. Ford (ed.), *Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1892–99), V, 238, 240. Washington later regretted the notification as premature. *St. Clair Papers*, II, 186, note 2. The policy adopted may have been inspired by Hamilton, who had already given Beckwith assurances to the same effect. *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 146, 161.

in case of refusal, to migrate beyond the Mississippi. This, of course, meant emigration to Spanish territory. The threat appeared especially significant in view of the fact that the British officials knew that during the autumn Spanish agents had been "tampering with the Indians." Moreover, the migration of the Indians would not only remove them as a protection for the posts but would also involve the ruin of British trade interests.

The result of Harmar's raid had, at any rate, served to alarm the British officials. They feared that the ultimate object in view was the establishment of a post at Miamitown—a preparatory step to the seizure of Detroit. British traders, anticipating the capture of the post, prepared a memorial reporting the impending danger. They declared that the key to the whole trade of the western and northwestern country was Detroit, the possession of which by the Americans would involve serious consequences.[54]

Lord Dorchester reported to Grenville that:[55]

> Their [the traders'] apprehensions are confirmed by the language of Mr. Harmar's official letter, printed in the American Newspapers, from which it appears that our Traders were a principal object of his expedition—Had any of them fallen into his hands, they would most probably have been severely dealt by, which must naturally have created many complaints to Government and some embarassment; this must happen a little sooner or a little later, unless speedily prevented by a frontier Treaty.

Bond had already reported to the Duke of Leeds that the failure of Harmar's expedition would probably result in increasing the standing army on the frontier, especially as so little reliance could be placed upon the militia. In that event the Indians would be forced back upon the posts, a particularly dangerous possibility in view of American accusations concerning British incitement of Indians, and that the Americans "viewed with a jealous eye" the retention of the posts. American newspapers,

[54] Letter of Major Smith, British commandant at Detroit, relative to action near Detroit, Oct. 16, 1790, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 103; Colonel McKee to Sir John Johnson, Oct. 18 and Nov. 7, 1790, *ibid.*, 106,107, 140; Speech of Blue Jacket, Shawnee chief, and Major Smith's reply, *ibid.*, 135–38; Brant to Sir John Johnson, Nov. 8, 1790, *ibid.*, 141, 142. See also Memorial and Petition of the Merchants of Montreal Trading to the Indian or Upper Country, Dec. 28, 1790, *ibid.*, 162–64.

[55] Dorchester to Grenville, Jan. 23, 1791. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 164, 165.

he reported a little later, were charging Great Britain with refusal to relinquish the posts or to make any compensation for the carrying off of negroes, insinuating, moreover, that previous to the late expedition, the British at Detroit had dealt out arms and supplies to the Indians. Henry Motz, secretary to Lord Dorchester, gave it as his opinion that the misrepresentations against the British traders in the West were part of the efforts of the "French party" to force the government into a French dependency; he believed it was "high time that all differences relative to the late Treaty of Peace should be settled. * * *"[56]

Beckwith took great pains to assure Hamilton that an Indian war would be most detrimental to British trade interests and to inform him that Lord Dorchester "had taken every proper opportunity of inculcating upon the Indians a pacific disposition" toward the United States.[57] Hamilton suggested that should Lord Dorchester use his influence to maintain peace, the government of the United States would consider it a friendly act but he apparently had no such formal step as mediation in mind.[58] The opportunity to suggest mediation was, however, seized with

[56] Mar. 4, 1791. Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1897, 476, 477. The administration intimated to Beckwith that while annual presents might be innocent in time of peace, in time of war it was a violation of neutrality to furnish arms to either of the warring parties. Report of cabinet meeting, April 7, 1791 in *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison* (Philadelphia, 1867), I, 530. On February 10, Lord Dorchester's secretary wrote to Beckwith in this connection: "It is not known here, whether any presents were issued to the Indians in the Miamies' Country about the time of Mr. Harmar's expedition; but if it was the case, certainly none were given with a hostile intent.

"No officer of the Indian Department would presume to act so opposite to his instructions, the contrary conduct having been uniformly enjoined upon all occasions ever since His Lordship's command in this Country, with regard to the Indian Department as well as the King's troops." *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 172. See also Instructions of Lord Grenville to Dorchester, Oct. 20, 1789, in "Cal. of St. Papers" in *Can. Archives*, 1890, 233.

[57] See Conversation upon the State of Affairs in the Western Country, in which "Mr. Hamilton, Mr. William Macomb of Detroit and Lieutenant Colonel Beckwith" participated, Jan. 31, 1791. Printed in *ibid.*, note E, 166–68, and in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 167–70. See also Henry Motz to Beckwith, May 6, 1791. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, L, pt. 1, 106; printed in *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 169.

[58] Motz to Beckwith, Feb. 10, 1791. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 171. See also Minutes Respecting Peace with the Indians, May 15, 1791, enclosed by Dorchester to Grenville, June 14, 1791, in *Can. Archives*, note E, 170, 171.

eagerness by both Lord Grenville and Lord Dorchester. In a letter to Dorchester, Grenville says:[59]

> Your Lordship will be so well aware of His Majesty's wishes for conciliation of the differences, and the establishing of tranquility in that country that I trust you will have taken every measure which may be conducive to those desirable Ends; Certainly no termination of this business could be so desirable as an adjustment of the points in dispute between the United States and the Indians under the good offices of this Country; especially as such an arrangement would probably at the same time afford an opening for settling in a manner satisfactory to both parties, the differences which have occurred to prevent the execution of that part of the Treaty of Peace between his Majesty and the United States which relates to the Cession of the Forts.

On May 24, he wrote to George Hammond at Madrid informing the latter of his appointment as minister to the United States, and urging his return to England with "the utmost expedition" that "no time shall be lost in your proceeding to America."[60]

Without waiting for orders from the ministry, Dorchester at once directed Sir John Johnson "to learn, with certainty and dispatch, the nature and extent of the specific terms, on which the confederated Indian Nations may be disposed to establish a general tranquillity and friendship, with the United States," and to allow them to decide "of their own free choice" what they "may think proper to communicate."[61]

The Indians were called in council by deputy Indian agent McKee. They refused to negotiate, however, and insisted that as the matter was of such great moment, representatives of each of the tribes should confer with Lord Dorchester himself.[62] Accordingly, the Indians met in council at Quebec.

---

[59] Mar. 7, 1791. Ms. No. 38 in Can. Archives, ser. Q, L, pt. 1, 16, 17.

[60] "Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue," in Historical Manuscripts Commisssion, *Fourteenth Report* (London, 1894), appendix, pt. 5, 80.

[61] Feb. 10, 1791. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 173.

[62] Col. Alexander McKee's speech to the Indians, July 1, 1791, *id.*, XX, 310; McKee to Johnson, July 5, 1791, *id.*, XXIV, 280. To supply the needs of the council Lord Dorchester allowed an unusual supply of provisions and "other necessaries" to be issued as the Indians were called together "for the desirable purpose of re-establishing the general tranquility." Dorchester to Sir John Johnson and Major Smith, Aug. 1, 1791, *ibid.*, 300. Before the council, Brant, fearing an attack by the Americans, had written to Sir John Johnson, "The account of Provisions is the only thing makes me afraid of our success against the Enemy, for they cannot embody themselves any time for want of

Here Brant, speaking for the Confederacy, demanded to know what assistance might be expected in case they were again attacked. He was not empowered to give assistance in time of war, was the reply of Dorchester, but if he could " 'be useful in procuring them a solid peace with the thirteen States,' " his " 'best endeavours should be employed for that good purpose.' " Indian deputies finally laid down the "Muskingum Boundary" as their ultimatum in regard to peace. This line followed the Ohio River from the mouth of the Tennessee River to the mouth of the Muskingum; thence up this river to its source; from there a little north of east in a straight line to the Allegheny River at the mouth of French Creek. From the Indian viewpoint, the "Muskingum Boundary" conceded to the Americans the territory between the Muskingum and Allegheny rivers, now a part of western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio.[63]

Meanwhile the efforts of the administration were centered on the success of the contemplated expedition against Miamitown, an important rendezvous of hostile tribes and a strategic point in control of the Maumee-Wabash portage. By the success of the expedition led by St. Clair, the Indian tribes were to be permanently overawed and future hostilities prevented.[64] Instead, the result of the campaign was a crushing blow to the hopes of the American people and a bitter humiliation to the administration. Evidently more efficient organization was necessary to subdue the hostile tribesmen.

Hammond had in the meantime arrived in Philadelphia.[65]

Provisions, if the English cannot assist the Indians with arms, I hope they will assist them with provision, the Indians can contrive to get Arms & Ammunition some how or other, but the provisions cannot be contrived." "The Shawanese & Miamis are the only Indians that seem to be unreasonable, the other nations are easily advised. * * * I hope they will be able to point out a reasonable Boundary Line between them & the Yankees. * * *" *Ibid.*, 270.

[63] See report of the "Conference with Indians at Quebec Relative to Western Indians," Aug. 14–17, 1791. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LII, 267; printed in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 318–21. See also speech of Lord Dorchester to the Indians, Aug. 16, 1791. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LII, 260; printed in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 309–13.

[64] See Instructions to Governor St. Clair For the Protection of the Frontiers, Mar. 21, 1791. *Amer. St. Papers, Ind. Affs.*, I, 171–74. See also Correspondence between Secretary Knox, Governor St. Clair and the President, Mar. 9–Nov. 9, 1791. *St. Clair Papers*, II, 200–267.

[65] Oct. 21, 1791.

He delayed three weeks in presenting his credentials—obviously pursuing a policy of "watchful waiting." Ternant, minister from France, reported that the British minister spent most of his time visiting "everybody," particularly senators.[66] Meanwhile he fully informed his home government as to the direful results of the expedition under St. Clair and the humiliating embarrassment to which the administration was subjected.[67]

In a confidential conversation with Hamilton on the subject of St. Clair's defeat, Hammond took the opportunity to revert to the possibility of British mediation, should the solicitation come from the United States. He reported to Grenville that he was "induced to express His Majesty's sincere desire to see tranquility between the Indians and the United States permanently established. I took occasion distinctly to intimate that if this government should think proper to solicit the Kings interference for this purpose through his Government in Canada, I had reason to believe that the application would not be ineffectual."

That to this Hamilton replied:

> The British government might be assured that the United States in the present War, were actuated by no motives of extending their territory, but simply by the desire of binding down the Indians to the stipulations of their last treaty, [68] and if this object could not be obtained by negociation, it was determined to prosecute the war with vigor—that this government was however sincerely solicitous to effect a pacification and if the *voluntary* interposition of the King's Government in Canada could tend to accomplish it, such a measure would be received with the greatest gratitude.[69]

From the British viewpoint, therefore, the moment seemed particularly propitious to obtain an advantageous settlement.

---

[66] Jean B. Ternant to Montmorin, Nov. 13, 1791. Amer. Hist. Assn., *Report*, 1903, II, 63–68.

[67] Hammond to Grenville, Dec. 10, 1791. Dispatch No. 11, Foreign Office, America, vol. K. Hammond to Grenville, Jan. 9, 1792. Dispatch No. 2, Foreign Affairs, America, vol. K. Alexander McKee wrote to Sir John Johnson from Detroit, Dec. 5, 1791, "It must now, more than ever, most evidently appear that whilst we keep the Western Indians our friends, this post may bid defiance to any enemy, from any land expedition, that may be contemplated against it. * * *" *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 337. See also Simcoe to Dundas, Feb. 16, 1792, *ibid.*, 377.

[68] The treaty of Fort Harmar, Jan. 9, 1789. It confirmed the boundary line as laid down by the Treaty of Fort McIntosh.

[69] Hammond to Grenville, Dec. 9, 1791. Dispatch No. 13, Foreign Office, America, vol. K.

The crushing blow administered to St. Clair would most likely induce the United States to yield more readily to British terms, and at the same time the home government, under Pitt's guiding hand, had never been so able to enforce its demands. What the British government hoped to accomplish is clearly outlined in a dispatch from Lord Dundas[70] to Lord Dorchester:[71]

Your Lordship being already apprized of the Intentions of His Majesty's Servants to endeavour to secure what may operate as an effectual & lasting Barrier, between the Territories of the American States and His Majesty's Dominions in that Quarter, I shall only refer your Lordship to my Letter of the 16 Sept. last and to the late unhappy Contests between those States & the Indians to prove the expediency of such a measure.

To obtain so beneficial an end and, at the same time to heal the differences which at present exist, a plan was suggested in some late communications between Your Lordship and His Majesty's servants which Your Lordship appeared to think extremely advisable if it could be carried into Execution. The Idea suggested was, that His Majesty and the American States should join in securing exclusively to the Indians a certain portion of Territory lying between and extending the whole length of the Lines of their respective Frontiers, within which both Parties should stipulate not to suffer their Subjects to retain or acquire any lands whatever, and although in consequence of such a Cession the Frontier Posts now in His Majesty's Hands would be given up, Your Lordship appeared to coincide with them in the opinion that the objection to this measure would be much lessened by the Circumstance of their not being to come into the possession of the American States, but to be ceded for the express purpose of becoming part of such Territory as is to be reserved for the undisturbed and independent possession of the Indians.

By placing the Indians in such a Position they will become a natural Barrier against mutual Encroachments, and at the same time hold a situation in which their attachment and friendly Disposition to His Majesty's Subjects may be

[70] On June 8, 1791, Lord Grenville became Secretary of Foreign Affairs and Lord Henry Dundas took his place as Secretary of Home Affairs.

[71] Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LVIII, pt. 1, 59. The idea of a neutral barrier Indian state had been suggested by Haldimand in the following terms in the fall of 1783.

"It would certainly be better for both nations, and the most likely means to prevent Jealousies and Quarrels that the intermediate Country between the limits assigned to Canada by the Provisional Treaty, and those established as formerly mentioned by that in the year 1768, should be considered as entirely belonging to the Indians, and that the subjects neither of Great Britain nor of the American States should be allowed to settle within them, but that the subjects of each should have liberty to trade where they please." Haldimand to North, Nov. 27, 1783. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LII, 602. See also "Extract from Sir John Johnson's Bart's letter—Dated Montreal 11th Dec. 1790." *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 162.

capable of the most serviceable because of the most extensive Operation. * * * In ascertaining the Territory to be granted to the Indians, three points, I conceive, are principally to be attended to, One to secure, as much as possible, our Intercourse & Trade with the Indians, the second is that the interposed Country to serve as a barrier should extend along the whole Line of the Frontier of His Majesty's Dominions and that of the United States of America, and lastly to take care that their Intervention, and the space to be allotted them shall be most considerable in such parts of His Majesty's Frontier as from their Situation are most obvious to attack or Interruption from any Quarter belonging to the American States.

To this end Hammond[72] was instructed by Lord Grenville:

to make to the American Government in such a Manner and Form as you shall judge most expedient, a Ministerial offer of the good Offices of this Country, in restoring Peace between them and the Indians.

The General Grounds on which you should endeavor to negotiate such an Accomodation are to be the securing to the different Indian Nations along the British and American Frontiers, their Lands and Hunting Grounds as an Independent Country, with respect to which both His Majesty and the United States shall withdraw all claims or Possessions whatever, shall agree never to establish any Forts within the Boundaries to be expressed in such Agreements, and shall bind themselves to each other not to acquire or to suffer the subjects to acquire, by Purchase or otherwise, from the Indians, any Lands or Settlements within the said Boundaries.

The Time and Mode in bringing forward this particular Proposition whether as part of Your Original Proposal, or in Course of any Subsequent Discussions to which it may lead, must be left to your Discretion, guided by Circumstances on the Spot. But it should as early as possible be stated, as the Ground and Foundation of such Interference on Our Part, as no other Mode of terminating the Business seems to afford so fair a Prospect of a satisfactory Conclusion, with a View to the permanent Interests of this Country, in that part of the World. * * *

Should the result of his negotiations seem to justify the step, he was authorized to relinquish the posts, providing the Americans

[72] George Hammond had received his instructions as minister to the United States on September 1. These instructions show that his first commission as minister was to negotiate a settlement of the disputes arising from the non-execution of the Treaty of 1783. His "precise instructions with respect to the nature of the arrangement" could not be given him until after the arrival of Lord Dorchester in England. See Hammond's instructions No. 1 in Foreign Office, America, Sept.–Dec. 1791, vol. K. His instructions No. 2 pertained to commercial relations. See also Dundas to Dorchester, Sept. 16, 1791. Ms. No. 1 in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LII, 206; printed in *Can. Archives*, 1890, note E, 172.

renounced all claims to them and left them "with the rest of the Country, in the undisturbed and independent Possession of the Indians."

In regard to the boundary,[73] Grenville suggested that the proposed line as laid down by Indian deputies in council with Lord Dorchester would be, perhaps, the most efficient in promoting the end in view.[74]

Meanwhile Hammond reported that the boundary designated in the Treaty of 1783 as "a line drawn from the most north-west-

[73] Dispatch No. 8, Foreign Office, America, vol. N. With the dispatch was inclosed a map and description thereof which, he said, would show the suggestion made on that subject to Lord Dorchester by the delegation of Indians at Quebec the previous summer. Here the deputies of the confederated Western Indians including representatives from the Ottawa, Huron, Delawares, Mohawk, Cuyahoga, Tuscarora, and Seneca nations had laid down the terms upon which they were willing to make peace.

Brant, speaking in behalf of the Indians, declared, "that their nations were disposed to make peace with the United States upon the basis of the following boundary being established and inviolably observed between them, that is to say, a line running up from the confluence of the Cherokee River, with the Ohio to the mouth of the Muskingum, thence to the portage, which crosses to Cuyahoga, from thence in a direct line across the country to Venango,where it joins the line agreed upon in 1768 from thence along the said line till it strikes the Line of purchase made by Pennsylvania in the year 1784.

"The line was marked upon the map and examined by all the deputies present, who declared that the several nations, their constituents had determined to abide by that line, and that this was their final resolution.

"Signed Joseph Brant
Alured Clarke, Major General
John Johnson.

"Endorsed B."

See Dorchester to Grenville, Aug. 17, 1791. Dispatch No. 102, Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LII, 259.

[74] See *ante*, 172, note 62. Dispatch No. 8, Foreign Office, America, vol. N. He also advises that "It may be a point of material convenience that some new arrangement should be made respecting the Frontier on Lake Champlain to which the Indian claims are understood not to extend." In a later dispatch he says, "It appears, however, on every account to be infinitely more desirable to include this object in a general arrangement of Frontier as now proposed than to bring it forward separately in the more invidious shape of a compensation for the Losses and Expences above Stated. As such a compensation, it would in itself be entirely inadequate and yet would have the appearance of being humiliating to America." Dispatch No. 9, Foreign Office, America, vol. G. See also Dorchester to Dundas, Mar. 23, 1792. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LVIII, pt. 1, 86; printed in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 386–89.

ern point of the Lake of the Woods, in a due west course to the Mississippi" was "unquestionably ideal" in every sense of the word. The extension of the boundary westward would never strike the Mississippi River, the source of which was now generally conceded to be within the territorial limits of the United States. This "accidental geographical error," Hammond urged, would not only leave the limits between the two countries undefined but render nugatory the article of the treaty with reference to the navigation of the Mississippi. It was, therefore, highly desirable to obtain the free navigation of the Mississippi River. The rapid improvement and increased population of the Mississippi settlements would unquestionably open up a lucrative and unrivaled market for British manufactures. The value of the trade hinged, in large measure, on the retention of the water communications via Canada. The United States had just appointed a commission to negotiate with Spain for the navigation of the Mississippi to its source. It was, therefore, he urged, "extremely important" that he be instructed on this point.[75]

In reply, Grenville stated that it would be "an object of the greatest importance at all events to secure, if possible, to His Majesty's subjects in Canada, the free and uninterrupted communication between the Lakes and the Mississippi either by the Ouisconsin River, which I understand affords great Facilities for that Purpose, or by such other Rivers as from such Information as you can acquire in America shall appear more proper for the attainment of the same object."[76]

At the same time the Canadian governor was instructed to give advice and assistance to Hammond and "such charts and documents as might be of service." Governor Simcoe seized the opportunity to acquaint Hammond with his opinion, held also by McKee, regarding the post at Detroit. Considering the Canadian settlement on the American side at Detroit, he advised that Can-

[75] "Fortescue Mss.," in Hist. Mss. Com., *Fourteenth Rep.*, app., pt. 5, 254. This information may have come from a memorial from the merchants of Montreal which Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe took pains to send by special messenger to Hammond and to which he said Hammond attached great importance. Judging from Lord Grenville's reply, Hammond probably forwarded it at once to his Lordship. See the Memorial in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 338–42.

[76] Grenville to Hammond, April 25, 1792. Dispatch No. 9, Foreign Office, America, vol. G.

ada be enlarged by a strip of territory "two leagues deep" from the St. Clair River to the rapids of the Maumee or to the Raisin River which flows into the western end of Lake Erie.[77]

The scope of the British plans was, to say the least, inclusive. Failure would at any rate not be due to the minimizing of the project. A settlement of all outstanding questions with the United States; a barrier for the protection of Canada; the gratification of the Indian by the security of his hunting grounds; the protection of the British merchant interests by securing the great trade routes of the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, the Mississippi River and its eastern tributaries: these were, in substance, the desired fruits of British mediation.

In return for such beneficent results, Great Britain would relinquish the posts—not to the United States but to the Indians, who would continue to form a barrier for the protection of Canada.

To accomplish these British ends, the United States was to cede all the land north and west of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, thereby relinquishing all access to lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and Superior, with their connecting waters, retaining only the right of trade within the territory.

Within this region, British officials hoped to add the territory north and west of the Fox-Wisconsin waterway between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River to the king's dominions and possibly secure a tract at Detroit between Lake Erie and Lake Huron to include the Canadian settlements and command both sides of the water connection between these lakes. The rest of the tract was to be given up to the Indians.

In addition to the above cession, the United States was to cede a region including the northern part of Lake Champlain as compensation for delay in the collection of the debts.

There was no doubt that the British project contemplated making a "merit of giving up the posts"![78] The one thing that

[77] Instructions to Lt.-Gov. Clarke and Lt.-Gov. Simcoe, Mar. 16, 1792. Ms. in Can. Archives, ser. Q, LVIII, pt. 1, 63; *id.*, CCLXXVIII, 36. See also Simcoe to Hammond, June 21, 1792, in *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 426; "Enclosure Relative to Boundary Question to Geo. Hammond," in transcripts of the Simcoe Papers, I, 518, in the Parliamentary Library, Ottawa, Can.

[78] The writer has found no evidence suggesting that Great Britain might relinquish any territory on her side of the treaty line of 1783.

might mar the plan was the rejection by the United States of British mediation. Even before Lord Grenville's instructions reached him, Hammond doubted whether the latter country would accept Great Britain as a mediator.[79] By the early part of June he had decided that the circumstances would not justify the risk of proposing the plan, as he believed it would be "rejected *in limine*." Appearances seemed to indicate, he reported, that the American government would be able to conclude peace with the Indians or, failing this, the preparations for war were such as to justify the belief that the campaign would be successful. Moreover, the policy of the government had won the almost universal sanction of public opinion.[80]

In view of the situation, Hammond determined to sound Hamilton on the proposed plan by outlining "loosely" the project "merely as a sentiment" of his own. He was not left long in doubt as to the American's viewpoint. Hamilton replied briefly and coldly that "any plan which comprehended anything like a cession of territory or rights, or the allowance of any other power to interfere in the disputes with the Indians" would be considered by the United States government "as absolutely impracticable and inadmissible." Hamilton's reply, "so determined and unequivocal,"

---

[79] Hammond to Grenville, Feb. 2, 1792. Dispatch No. 8, Foreign Office, America, vol. N.

[80] Hammond to Grenville, June 8, 1792. Dispatch No. 23, Foreign Office, America, vol. O. In addition he says that though the United States granted to the Indians the right of soil in their lands, they claim the sole right of preëmption, and of prohibiting them from allowing any persons to inhabit their country without licenses from the government of the United States. Any grant of soil would therefore be regarded "not only as a dereliction of right but also as a sacrifice of territory." Furthermore, a cession necessary to form an "adequate" barrier would include territory belonging to the states of New York and Pennsylvania and also to individuals. This would necessitate the purchase of those claims before any cession could be made.

A little later (July 3, 1792) he reported the terms which the United States was willing to concede for the cession of the posts. His ideas are the result of private conversations with Hamilton and Jefferson. The suggestions as to possible military and naval arrangements on the frontier which he reports as coming from Jefferson are interesting in view of the final settlement by the Rush-Bagehot Convention in 1817. See Jefferson's report of a conversation with Hammond at a "solo dinner" to which Jefferson invited him. *Writings of Jefferson*, I, 193–98. See also Simcoe to Hammond, Sept. 27, 1792. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 478.

confirmed the suspicion of Hammond that the United States would resent British mediation. He therefore deemed himself precluded from urging the matter further, "much less," he says, "from intimating that I was authorized to offer in the form of a specific proposition those suggestions which I had represented as the immediate results of my own reflections."[81]

There was no doubt that the United States considered British interference undesirable—in fact, an unwarranted intermeddling.

The attitude of the government is clearly outlined in a letter of Washington to Morris. Discussing the proposed mediation, he says:

> You may be *fully* assured, Sir, that such mediation *never* was asked, that the asking of it *never* was in contemplation, and I think I might go further and say, that it not only never *will* be asked, but would be rejected if offered.

Moreover, he gave it as his opinion that the evidence was as strong as " 'proof of Holy Writ' " that Great Britain desired to intermeddle between the United States and the Indians.

> I do not hesitate to give it to you, my private and decided opinion, that it is to these interferences, and to the underhanded support, which the Indians receive, (notwithstanding the open disavowal of it,) that all our difficulties with them may be imputed.[82]

Convinced that British mediation would undoubtedly be rejected, and loath to give up "the sole ground" upon which the British project might be attained,[83] Hammond submitted to Governor Simcoe "an event" which might pave the way for the desired negotiations. "Solicitation of the King's good offices by the Indians themselves," he suggested, might obtain the desired end, although it would be "extremely desirable" that the solicitation should be the result of their own spontaneous reflections so that there might not be "the appearance of anything like Collusion or active interference" on the part of the

---

[81] Hammond to Grenville, June 8, 1792. Dispatch No. 23, Foreign Affairs, America, vol. 0.

[82] June 21; 1792. *Writings of Washington*, XII, 132–34.

[83] Hammond to Grenville, June 13, 1792. Dispatch No. 25, Foreign Office, America, vol. 0. See also Hammond to Simcoe, July 11, 1792. Simcoe Papers, I, 518.

British, as such a suspicion would undoubtedly defeat the end in view.[84]

Governor Simcoe seized upon the suggestion with avidity. He "lost no time" in carrying out Hammond's idea.[85] Colonel McKee was instructed to impress upon the Indians[86] to solicit British mediation, to assure them that the British court would assist them with copies of their "former Treaties with the Indians, and Deeds of Cession, to shew what the Claims of the British were before the grant of Independency."[87] Moreover, Colonel Butler was to endeavor "to impress the *Indians* of the *Buffaloe Creek*, [the Six Nations] who leave this place soon for the Council with these opinions; and if I can see Captain Brant should in some degree state them to him * * *"[88]

The result of the Indian councils was reported by special messenger to Hammond[89] who at once "waited on Mr. Hamilton" and informally reported the results of the conferences. He stated "loosely and generally" that he had received information from Governor Simcoe "that the Indians had evinced a willingness to meet early in the spring at Sandusky any person deputed by the American government to treat with them," in consequence of which they had sent a "formal message" to the United States government "soliciting his Majesty's good offices not only as Mediator but also as the principal party in the several treaties concluded with them subsequently to the year 1783 and antecedent to the separation of the colonies from Great Britain."

He further reports:

> I did not enter into any other particulars than only to express my sense of the propriety of this application to the King as a power essentially interested

[84] Hammond to Simcoe, July 11, 1792, *ibid.*

[85] Simcoe to Hammond, Sept. 27, 1792. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 478–82. See also Simcoe to Clarke, Aug. 30, 1792, *ibid.*, 466.

[86] The Indians were gathering in northern Ohio because Wayne's preparations indicated that by autumn he would be ready to strike. The campaign was held in leash by the government, however, awaiting one more attempt to settle the difficulties by treaty.

[87] Simcoe to McKee, Aug. 30, 1792, *ibid.*, 472. Hammond commended these instructions as "extremely judicious." Hammond to Simcoe, Oct. 19, 1792. Simcoe Papers, I, 255.

[88] Simcoe to McKee, Aug. 30, 1792. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 472–75; Simcoe to Hammond, Sept. 27, 1792, *ibid.*, 478.

[89] Simcoe to Hammond, Nov. 17, 1792, *ibid.*, 516.

in the restoration of tranquility on the frontiers of his dominions, and as possessors of those treaties that defined the Indian Boundaries as existing at the period of ceding the Territory comprehended in them to the United States, which cession could transfer no right of soil or of any other right than such as His Majesty actually enjoyed.

In conclusion he desired to be considered as "actuated by no other motive than a friendly anxiety to give this government intelligence of an event which materially affected it, and with which it was unacquainted."[90]

To Hammond's unofficial confidences Hamilton replied that he was persuaded that the United States government would not accede to the Indian proposal for mediation. Such a step would not only diminish the importance of the United States in the eyes of the Indians but might eventually lead to serious disagreements with Great Britain.[91]

Receiving little satisfaction at the hands of Hamilton, Hammond "waited on Mr. Jefferson" to whom he "held pretty nearly the same language." Before the conclusion of the interview, however, he endeavored to impress Jefferson with McKee's good services "in protracting the council until the arrival of the Six Nations," by which the American charges of hostile interference were completely refuted.[92] Jefferson, he reported, "contented himself" with promising to lay the matter before the President without delay.

The proposed mediation was negatived by the cabinet. Rather than admit mediation by Great Britain, it refused to confer with the Indians, and Jefferson was appointed to communicate this decision to Hammond.[93]

Jefferson tells us that in this connection he took care to apprise Hammond that the previous conversation had been considered to be "private" and that the present one was equally so. He

---

[90] Hammond to Simcoe, Nov. 27, 1792. Simcoe Papers, I, 282.

[91] The remarks of Hamilton indicate that he probably understood Hammond's ulterior motive in the matter.

[92] See Hammond to Simcoe, Nov. 27, 1792, *ibid.*

[93] Jefferson says that before his interview with Hammond, he read the communication to the President. *Writings of Jefferson*, I, 210.

deemed it unnecessary to observe to him that nothing like mediation had been suggested:[94]

1. Because so informal a conversn cd not include so formal a thing as a Mediation.

2. Bec. an estabd principle of public law among the white nations of America, that while the Indians included within their limits retain all other natl rights, no other white nation can become their patrons, protectors or mediators, nor in any shape intermeddle between them & those within whose limits they are.

That Gr. Br. wd not propose an example wch wd authorize us to cross our boundary, & take under our protection the Indians within her limits.

3. Because should the treaty prove ineffectual, it wd singularly commit the friendship of the two nations.

That the idea of Govr Simcoe's attendance was presented only as a thing desird by the Indians: that the consequences of this had been considd.

It is not necessary in order to effect a peace.

Our views so just so moderate that we have no fear of effecting peace if left to ourselves. If it cannt be effected, it is much better that nobody on the part of Engld shd hve bn present;—for however our govmt is persuaded of the sincerity of yr assurances yt y' hve not excited the Indians, yet our citizens in general are not so.

It will be impossible to persuade them the negocns were not defeatd by Brit. agents: that therefore tho' we do not pretend to make the exclus of Govr Simcoe a *sine quâ non*, provided he be there as a spectator, not as a *party*

Yet we shd consider his declining to attend either by himself or any other person, as an instance of their frdshp & as an evidence of it particularly calculated to make due impression on the minds of our citizens.

In this "informal" conversation Hammond could not fail to realize that the tables had been turned. He must also have been convinced not only that mediation was most positively refused but that he had not escaped the scarcely veiled imputation of meddling.[95] British assistance was neither desired nor would it be accepted. The dignity of the American government was to be upheld even at a sacrifice in obtaining peace; and forced interference Great Britain was not in a position to offer.

Plunged into a long and exhausting struggle against France and Napoleon, her policy of mediation and a neutral Indian barrier state was for the time overshadowed by the gravity of the European turmoil. By the Jay Treaty in 1794, the posts, the retention of which had become a danger to peace on the North-

[94] *Ibid.*

[95] Simcoe to Hammond, Jan. 21, 1793. *Mich. Pion. & Hist. Colls.*, XXIV, 520. See also Simcoe to Clarke, Jan. 27, 1793, *ibid.*, 525.

west frontier, were given up to the Americans. But in the War of 1812 the Americans manifested an aggressive attitude toward Canada and the American victories on the Lakes convinced the British government that a protection for that province was imperative. Therefore with the opening of negotiations at Ghent in 1814, the British commissioners laid down the pacification of their Indian allies and the formation of a neutral Indian state as a permanent barrier between Canada and the United States as the *sine qua non* of a treaty.[96] The demand was a belated attempt to repair the omissions in the Treaty of 1783 and to retrieve the failure of the attempted settlement of 1792. The negotiations at length revealed, however, that peace was the ultimate desire of both nations. Two years later the Rush-Bagehot agreement satisfactorily settled the much-discussed controversy; a settlement which has now stood unbroken for almost one hundred years.

[96] Reports of the Commissioners of United States to the Secretary of State. *Amer. St. Papers, For. Rel.*, III, 705 *et seq.*

Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal—and Others

Edited with introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife

The paper here presented is offered as a contribution to the as-yet-unwritten history of the early exploration of the upper Missouri. When President Jefferson conceived the project of sending out the Lewis and Clark expedition to cross the continent to the Pacific it became an object of prime concern to gather as much advance geographical information as could be had concerning the regions the expedition was to traverse. A decade before the Lewis and Clark expedition a group of St. Louis merchants made a vigorous attempt to establish a system of trading posts on the upper Missouri and, being ascended to its source, to cross the mountains and descend the Columbia to the sea. The enterprise was doomed to lamentable failure. Instead of reaping the profits they had anticipated the partners garnered only loss and disaster; while from the viewpoint of geographical discovery, instead of penetrating to the Pacific several years of effort sufficed only to reach the Mandan towns in the vicinity of which Lewis and Clark wintered in 1804–5.

Our knowledge of the exploring achievements of the Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri, as the St. Louis association was styled, is still scanty and fragmentary.[1] The first expedition was sent out by the company in the spring of 1794, under the leadership of Jean Baptiste Trudeau. He kept a journal one portion of which by some means came into the hands of President Jefferson, and another has been brought to light comparatively recently in the

[1] For a résumé of the subject see the writer's introduction to volume XXII of the *Wis. Hist. Colls.*

Archives of the Indies at Seville.[2] Concerning the affairs of the company in general a considerable number of important documents have been brought to light by Louis Houck, the historian of Missouri.[3] Of the later expeditions sent out by the company, however, comparatively little has hitherto been known.

The story of the finding, in 1913 and 1914 among the Biddle family papers, of the journal of Serg. John Ordway, and of other interesting Lewis and Clark records, has been related by the writer in another place.[4] Included in the papers thus uncovered was the manuscript here printed, entitled "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal." From the circumstances of the case it seems fair to suppose it was drawn up either for or by the American captains while they lay in Camp Dubois during the winter of 1803–4. It is obvious that both Mackay and his lieutenant, John Evans, kept journals, which at the time of Lewis and Clark's stay there, were in the possession of some one at St. Louis. From them such information as might be thought useful to the American explorers was taken, the transcript being then submitted to John Hay of Cahokia for annotation. To complete the document the pertinent geographical data from Hay's own journal of his travels in the Northwest were transcribed.

It is not intended here to enter upon any extended account of the expeditions of the Commercial Company with which the document deals. A few facts concerning each of the principal characters, Mackay, Evans, and Hay seem, however, in order.

James Mackay, born in Scotland in 1759, came of an ancient family which had produced many men who distinguished themselves in the service of their country.[5] He came to America in 1776, and spent the next fifteen years in Canada, during which time, it is evident, he was much engaged in trading and exploring operations in the far Northwest. About the year 1793 he removed to Missouri, then, of course, a portion of Spanish Upper Louisiana.

---

[2] The two sections have been published, with appropriate editing, in the *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XIX, 299–333, and in *Missouri Historical Collections*, IV, 9–48.

[3] In his *Spanish Régime in Missouri* (Chicago, 1908), II.

[4] *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, II, 106–17.

[5] The facts contained in this sketch are taken from the sketch of Mackay in *Mo. Hist. Colls.*, IV, 20, 21.

He quickly attracted favorable attention in his new home, and from 1795 to 1797 was engaged in the work of the Commercial Company, as set forth in the accompanying document. Soon after his return to St. Louis he was appointed commandant of the settlement of San Andres in the northwest part of modern St. Louis County, and in addition was commissioned captain of dragoons. He married Isabella Long in 1800, and many of his descendants still reside in Missouri. When Louisiana was transferred to the American government, Mackay was appointed a judge of the Court of Quarter Sessions, and in 1816 he served in the Missouri Territorial Legislature. He died in April, 1822. All reports agree that he was a man of tact and ability, and possessed of considerable education. According to his latest biographer he was "honest and fair in all his dealings, and a notable power for good in the community."

Concerning John Evans, but little can be said. The document we are dealing with reveals that he was Mackay's lieutenant; that he made two distinct essays to ascend the Missouri, in 1795–97, and on the second attempt reached and wintered at the Mandan towns. That Evans was a man of force and probity is sufficiently attested, both by the tasks entrusted to him to execute and by the explicit testimonial of Mackay to his good character. That his exploit of lowering the British flag and driving its partisans from the Mandan towns in 1796 was familiarly known in Louisiana a few years later, seems attested by an allusion to it in an answer to a petition of the St. Louis merchants for freedom of trade on the upper Missouri.[6]

John Hay was a prominent citizen of Cahokia. His father, Jehu Hay, a leading Western British partisan during the Revolution, had risen before his death to the position of lieutenant-governor of Detroit.[7] The son was born in Detroit in 1769. After having engaged in the Northwestern fur trade for some time he settled at Cahokia, in which place and, later, at Belleville he remained until his death in 1843. During this long period he held many local offices of trust and importance.

Rarely if ever has the Society published a document more closely packed with geographical information than is the present

[6] Houck, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, II, 206.

[7] For a sketch of Jehu Hay see Wis. Hist. Soc., *Proceedings*, 1914, 212.

one. Neither time nor inclination has permitted any exhaustive editorial annotation of it. It is not expected that it will prove interesting to the general reader. It should possess considerable value for the special student, whether of the history or the geography of the extensive region with which it deals.

Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal

The Grand Portage situated on the North side of Lake Superior at 60 Leagues of the West Extremity of said Lake, and about 500 Leagues North West of the Town of Montreal, is the General *Rendezvous*[1] of his Britannic Majesties Subjects who carry on the Canada furr Trade with the Interior Parts of Western America. It is there where the Merchants of Montreal assemble every spring to receive the furrs that are brought there, and deliver in turn the Goods necessary for the Indian Trade. It is with these merchandizes that the Traders get into the interior parts of the Country in Bark Canoes (birch) carrying about 2500^{lb}, with which they cross over many lakes, and Rivers that they have to ascend and descend, and when obstacles arise in their navigation they carry by land over their Shoulders, their Canoes, Goods Provisions &c that they contain, till they come to some lake or River nearest to their Route, of which is generally directed to the West.

The principal Lakes through which those Traders pass are Lakes Lapluie (or Rain [y] Lake) the Lake of the Woods (or lac du Bois) the Great Lake Ouinipique [Winnipeg], the latter is the most Westerly of the three and at the same time the most Considerable it extends in length from the 50.th Deg: to the 56th Deg: Latitude north and in breadth from 104th deg: to 105th deg: 30 m. longitude West.

The Route from the Grand Portage to the Lake Ouinipique has near^{I} 250 leagues Contains 72 Carrying places of which some are near a league in length and some not more than 60 feet.

The Greatest part of all that Country, from the Grand portage to the lake Ouinipique is Barren, covered with Mountains & Rocks; it is inhabited by a savage nation, which they name^{II}

[1] For an account of Grand Portage in its heyday see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 169, 170, note 31, and George Bryce, *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company* * * * (Toronto, 1900), 94–96.

Saulteuxs or Bungees, they have no fixed habitation, but they rove from place to place in search of a very precarious subsistance, which they procure by hunting and fishing, this hunt is one of their greatest occupations for the greatest part of the Year, excepting Summer, a season which they Consecrate to War,[III] which they generally make with the Sioux Nation which inhabit the upper Branches of the Mississippi. Many considerable Rivers empty themselves in the lake Ouinipique particularly those that Come from the West, and take their Sources near the Rocky Mountains, Chain of Mountains that separate the Waters that fall in the Atlantic ocean from those that lose themselves in the *Pacific*—

One of the largest of those Rivers, is that which is called the River Assiniboine it take its source from the Rocky Mountains[IV] where it Runs due East through immense plains and meadows, beautiful and fertile and Comes and[V] Empties itself in Lake Ouinipique by the South West Corner of said Lake about 200 from the Mouth of the River Assiniboine, in going up to its Source and on one of its branches called River Catapoi, on the South West, we there find the[VI] furthermost wintering post of the English Traders from Canada. It[VII] is from this Post that the English Traders start to go and make their unlawful Trade on the Missouri with the Mandaines and other nations that inhabit the Territory of his Catholic Majesty.

The distance from this English Post to the Part of the Missouri on which the Mandaine Nation reside exceeds not 80[VIII] leagues, the Route going generally to the South, the greatest part of the Route is through plains and marshes of a Considerable extent, separated here and there by vallies and Runs bordered by Poplars of an inferior Quality. As there is no known Communication by Water from the Assiniboine (in the North) and the Missouri, the English Traders, during summer transport their Merchandizes and Peltries, on horses or mules, which they Buy or hire of the natives of the Country and in the Winter they more often use Sledges drawn by one, two or more Dogs.

The Country situated between the North and upper Missouri is inhabited by a Savage nation that they call Assiniboines,[IX] those Indians generally keep or have their residence near Turtle Mountain which is formed by the heights of the land that separate

the Waters of the Missouri with those of the River Assiniboine in the north. In the Beginning of the Year 1787 I made a Voyage in the River Catapoi in the North, to the Mandaines on the Upper Missouri, it took me Seventeen days to get there, but I believe in the Summer it might be done in ten days. On my Arrival at the Mandaines, they received me with all the Affability possible, many of their Chiefs Came to Meet me, at some distance from their village, and would not permit me to enter their Village on foot, they carried me between four men in a Buffaloe Robe, to the Chiefs tents, When in a little time they prepared a feast for me and my men—I had brought with me some few Merchandizes to which they appeared to set a great value on, as they offered me in Exchange the best of what they had in Possession—I saw Some Guns and Ball in their Possession, which as they said, they had traded with other nations who according to their Report, had traded them from White People—I remained ten days with them, and when I satt off, they appeared to regret very much that I should leave them So soon. The Mandaines, jointly with the Manitouris [Minitaree] and Wattasoons live in five Villages, which are almost in sight of one another, three of those Villages are on the South Side of the Missouri and two on the North Side. The Situation of those five Villages is charming, they are built on an Elevated plaine, even and fertile, which extends on either Side to a considerable distance. Those Nations cultivate the Ground round about their Villages and sow Corn Beans, Pumpkins and Gourds; they also make earthen pots in which they Boil their Meats, these Pots resist to fire as well as if they were iron. The Mandaines, as well as all other Nations that inhabit to their West, near the Rocky Mountains, are in general people as good as they are mild who lay a great value on the friendship of the Whites. I perceived in my different voyages amongst these people that their Manners were more or less corrupted by reason of their more or less Communication they had with the Whites, whilst to the Contrary those who had had but little or no Communication with them, are absolutely yet in a State of nature and remain in their primitive Simplicity not being hardly able to distinguish good from Evil.

In the Course of the Year /93 & /94 the English Traders sent from their Post they have on the River Assiniboine, several

of their hirelings, to the Mandaine Nation on the Missouri, but as these persons were sent by different Employers or Traders, and that in Consequence they found themselves on an opposition the one with the other, they paid Double the Value for their peltries they exchanged, which made the Indians think immediately, that Goods were not of that value which they had at first imagined: the immoderate desire that those unfit traders showed, to procure themselves pelteteries; convinced the Indians that it was not necessary to show so much friendship to the Whites to entice them to return to them with goods, seeing that the only object that brought them was to procure pelteteries—

In 1795 authorized by M^{r}. Zenon Trudeau Lieut^{t} Gov^{r} of the Illinois by the River Missouri by the Mississippi. The object of this Voyage was to open a commerce with those distant and Unknown Nations in the upper parts of the Missouri and to discover all the unknown parts of his Catholic Majesty's Dominions through that continent as far as the Pacific Ocean—I remained in the Missouri until the Year 1797 without any possibility of fulfilling this Object, the want of help and many other unexpected circumstances hindered me, nevertheless I explored the Country as far as the Mandaine Village about 5 or 6 hundred leagues above the Entrance of the Missoury by 47. 48 north latitude and about 111 deg: West longitude—After what I had seen and observed during my residence on the Missouri, I think, if the Mandaine nation and those nations around them were regularly furnished with merchandizes, in a sufficient Quantity for their Wants, as well as a Number of Men under the conduct of persons of as much Prudence as Experience, it would be the true Means of putting a Stop to the unjust progress of the English on that side of his Catholic Majesty's Dominions; but to have this operation on a Solid Basis, great Expences must be made, for which funds would be required far more considerable than is generally possessed by the Majority of the Merchants of this Country, for the following reasons—Merchandizes are at an exorbitant price in the Illinois, Mens Wages and other Expences are too great, besides, there are several Nations from the Entrance of the Missouri to its upper parts, to whom Merchandizes must be furnished, not only for the Trade, but even for a Tributary present, without which they would never permit Traders to pass further up.

These Nations would consume a great quantity of Goods, for which very uncertain Returns must be expected for the first Years at least until permanent posts or Forts were established at each of those Nations as far as the great fall, which falls from the Rocky Mountains and which from all the Information I could procure, I suppose to be about 200 leagues West above the Mandaines, that is following the Meanders of the River, making near about 800 leagues from the Entrance of the Missouri.

The Indian Nations that reside as well on the Borders of the Missouri as in the Environs of this River are the *Attotactoes* or *Ottoes*, the *Mahas*, the *Poncas*, Siouxs of the *Grand Détour* or *Great Bend*, Sious of the Plains, Shivitauns and Corbeaus (crows), there are other nations who reside at the foot of the Rocky Mountains, of whom I could not procure any information, Many of these Nations cultivate the Earth and Sow Corn, Beans, Pumpkins and Gourds, I had brought with me from the Illinois several kinds of seed, such as Water and Musk Melon and of other Vegetables, I sowed them and they succeeded very well. I made a present of those Seeds to the Indians who also succeeded and reaped a harvest of them as in the Illinois and they preserve the seed with great care. The Earth on the Borders of the Missoury is in most parts a Rich and fertile Soil, capable of producing fruits and Vegetables as good as those that grow in any Country of the same temperature—These Countries are in general very healthy, in Consequence of which the Indians are not subject but to very few Diseases, and those generally the fruits of their intemperance, amongst those they reckon dysenteries and the Venereal, but of all those Scourges and Plagues, the most Terrible is the Small Pox, truly they are attacked of it but very rarely, but when it does visit them, it Strikes them with a Mortality as frightful as Universal.

M^{r}. Evans ascended the Missouri as high as the White River about 80 leagues above the Mahas their having been met by a Nation called *Sious of the Grand Détour*, who generally pass the Spring and Autumn on the Borders of the White River, was obliged to Return to the Maha Post. Those Indians having discovered M^{r} Evans near their Camp they pursued him near 4 leagues descending the River and Would have probably stopt him if the Weather and the Approach of the night had not

favoured his Retreat. This Nation of Sious had never been as yet favorable to the Whites[2] and although I had sent them a Parole the preceding winter, they refused to come and see me. As Soon as Mr Evans had returned from this fruitless Expedition, I sent to those *Sious* Another Parole, accompanied with presents of Tobacco and Cloth, and I prevailed on some of the principal Chiefs, among them, to come and see me at the Maha Village,[3] so that they might hear the Parole of their Great Father the Spaniard, that was sent them by the Commandant of the Illinois. One month had elapsed when four of the principal Chiefs of the said *sious* came to see me at the Maha Village, bringing Answers to my parole—I had a long Conference with them and gave them such Presents as I thought would be most acceptable to them, but as all negotiations of this kind that is entered upon with Indians are generally not only tiresome in their details, but even rarely can they be brought to a positive conclusion, without losing much time; I shall only say that this Conference served to open a communication more for the future—Nevertheless as those Chiefs appeared well satisfied when they left me I thought I could hazard a second trial for penetrating in the West, in consequence I prepared for a second Expedition, the command of which I again trusted to Mr Evans.

In the Course of 1796 I sent an Expedition from the Maha Post under the command of Mr John Evans a young man of an Upright Character on whose Perseverance and Ability I could entirely rely; the Instructions that I gave him were to penetrate to the Western or Pacific Ocean by the Missouri or by any of its Branches, if he found any coming from the West. &c---I will here add what was most Essential in Mr Evans Journal, so as to give an Idea of the Result of his Expedition.

Extracts of Mr Evans Journal

8.th June 1796 After having received from Mr James McKay Agent of the Missouri Company the necessary Instructions, as

[2] Apparently Lewis and Clark were the first white men to defy them with impunity. How great adroitness and courage this required may be learned by reference to the original journals of the expedition.

[3] Mackay was stationed a few miles below the town of Omadi, Nebr., where he had established a fortified post to which the name Fort Charles was given.

well as men, Provisions And Merchandizes, I sat off from the Missouri Company's Establishment at the Maha Village, to ascend the Missouri as far as the Pacific Ocean——After a long and fatiguing voyage I arrived the 8th August following at the Village of the *Rik,ka,ras* on the South Side of the Missouri, 250 leagues above the Mahas, I here met with some difficulties to get along, the *Rik,karas* would not permit me to pass their Village and carry my Goods to those nations that reside above them, they said, they were themselves in want of Goods &c. finding then that all my Efforts were in vain, to get on, I was obliged to stay among them. Some Weeks after my arrival, several Indians of different nations particularly the *Caneenawees* and *Shayenns* habitants of the Rocky Mountains, came to the village to see me their Chief in a very long and prolix discourse expressed to me the joy they felt to see the Whites, they assured me of their Love And Attachment for their Great father the Spaniard and for all his children who Came in their Country. Judging it necessary for the better insuring the success of my enterprise to take Possession of the fort built at the Mandaine Village by the English Traders of Canada, I succeeded in persuading the *Rikaras* to let me go so far as there with a few Goods. The 23 Sept. I arrived at the Mandaine Village which is situated about 10 leagues above the *Rikara* on the Same Side (south) of the Missouri, there I was visited by the *Munitarees* and *Wattassoons* whose villages are only a league above those of the Mandaines, those nations as well as the Mandaines received me very cordially. I gave their Chiefs in the name of their Great Father the Spaniard, who inhabits the other Side of the great lake and in the name of the Great Chief who inhabits this Side of the great Lake and also in the name of the Chief who resides at the Entrance of the Missouri, the Flags and Medals that were given me for that purpose by Mr McKay. Besides those medals & flags I made some small presents, which were received with the greatest of Satisfaction, and testified their acknowledgment in the most expressive manner, promising to observe the most sincere attachment to their great father the Spaniard and his Chiefs, who have Sent to them from so far, their children the Whites with such great marks of their Esteem and of their Charity for the Red People; they added that they would hear what I had to say and had sent to

all their Brothers, and that hereafter they would follow my Counsels on all occasions—The 28th September in Conformity to the orders I had, I took possession of the English fort belonging to the Canada Traders, and I instantly hoisted the Spanish flag which seemed very much to please the Indians—

The 8.th of October arrived Several men at the Mandaine Village belonging to the Canada Traders that I have above mentioned, they had brought Some Goods with them, not having a Sufficiency of men I did not strive to oppose their arrival, nor of their goods: I nevertheless found a means to hinder their Trade and some days after absolutely forced them to leave the Mandane Territory, I sent by them in the North the Declaration that I had received of Mr McKay: forbidding all strangers whatever to enter on any part of his Catholic Majesty's Dominions in this Quarter under any pretext whatever—The 13th March 1797 Arrived at the Mandaine Village from the North, a man named *Jussom*[4] accompanied by several Engagees he was sent by the English traders, with Merchandizes as presents, for the Mandaines and neighbouring nations, so as to be able to break off the Attachment & fidelity they had promised to his Majesty and his Subjects, the said *Jussom* and those who Accompanied him advised the Indians to enter into my house under the Mask of friendship, then to kill me and my men and pillage my property; several of the Good Chiefs who were my friends & to whom *Jussom* had offered presents; refused them with indignation and shuddered at the thought of such a horrid Design and came and informed me of the Whole. Nevertheless the presents that *Jussom* had made to the Indians had tempted some of the inferior class, who joined him to execute his Abominable Design, happily for me his presents had not the same Effect with some of the Principal Chiefs, to undertake Such an enormous crime, therefore many of those chiefs Came to my house to guard me and were resolved to die in the attack if any should be made; this Resolution disconcerted entirely my enemies and totally put an End to their infamous Design. Some Days after *Jussom* came to my house with a number

[4] René Jessaume, best known, perhaps, by reason of his later connection with the Lewis and Clark expedition. He spent a long life on the upper Missouri, and is usually painted, as here, in an unfavorable light by the explorers who speak of him. Nevertheless he won, to a certain extent, the esteem of Clark, who offered to become his partner in a small way in the fur trade.

of his Men, and seizing the moment that my Back was turned to him, tried to discharge a Pistol at my head loaded with Deer Shot but my Interpreter having perceived his design hindered the Execution—The Indians immediately dragged him out of my house and would have killed him, had not I prevented them—— this man having refused me Satisfaction for all the Insults he had given me, Moreover disgusted on the ill success of the Execution of his Black Designs, left the Mandanes with his men some days after and returned to his people in the North and bring them the News of his Ill success—I found out by all I could learn that the Intentions of the British Traders were Not to spare trouble or Expence to maintain a Fort at the Mandaine Village Not that they see the least appearance of a Benefit with the Mandanes but carry their views further, they wish to open a trade by the Missouri with the Nations who inhabit the Rocky Mountains, a Trade, that at this Moment is Supposed to be the best on the Continent of America.—The general Course of the Missouri from the Maha Nation to the Mandaines is near about North West, it runs for the greatest part of this space, on a Rocky Bottom & Gravel, it is Shut up like on Each side by a chain of Rocky Mountains and of Sand, which in some places coming so near to one another reduces the Breadth of the River to about 500 toises.[5] The Land on both sides of the River is at one time Mountainous & barren and at other times even & fertile, but in the Back part a tree can hardly be found. The best Quality of Land is found in the Mandaine Country, this quality of Land extends itself on the West as far as the East chain of the Rocky Mountains which are about 170 league to the West of the Mandaines, it is at these Mountains where the great Meadows And Prairies terminate the Country then begins to be Absolutely Covered with trees, even upon the Rocky Mountains and it is probable these woods extend to the Pacific Ocean——The Country from the Mandaines to the Rocky Mountains is well watered by different Rivers that empty themselves in the Missouri, particularly from the South West, many of these Rivers are navigable for Boats of one or two tons burthen, The largest of these Rivers is the Riviére Blanche (White River) Whose mouth is About 80 leagues above the Mahas the River

[5] The toise is a French linear measure equal to 6.395 English feet.

Shayenn 70 leagues higher—The River LaBombe[6] about 65 leagues higher And the Yellow Stone River (Riviére des Roches Jaunes) about 120 leagues further and about 80 leagues above the Mandaines, all these Rivers Come from S. W. of Missouri and there is also a River that comes from the N. W. and which joins the Missouri near the mouth of the Yellow Stone River, they call it Riviére dufoin (hay river) they say it is a large and fine River in which there is More Beaver and Otters than in any other part of the Continent.

M[r]. Evans measured the Missouri near the Village of the Mandaines And he found it 500 toises large, which confirms me in my Opinion that the Sources of the Missouri is much further off than what it is imagined, although the Indians Who inhabit at the foot of the Rocky Mountains have but a Confused Idea of the upper parts of the Missouri; Nevertheless after all the Information I could collect, it appears that the Missouri takes it source in ab[t] the 40[th] deg North latitude from Whence it Runs to the North (between the chains of the Rocky Mountains) as far as the 49[th] deg. latitude that thence running East, it falls over the East chain of the Mountains in the great plains across which it runs to the East till it reaches the Mandaines—There is no other fall, in the whole Course of the Missouri, but where it falls over the Rocky Mountains, in the plains, as I have said before. This fall it is Said, is of an astonishing height, from the Situation of the Country and the Meanders of the River I Suppose this fall to be 200 leagues West of the Mandaines. Among the innumerable Numbers of different animals found on the Rocky Mountains, there is one that is really an Object of curiosity, it is near about the height of an Elk, its hair is like to that of a fallow Deer or Buck, it carries its horn like those of a Ram, but turned in a spiral form like a trumpet and of an immense size, some have been found of 8 Inches Diameter in their thickest part. This Animal lives but about 10 or 12 years, by reason of their horns, that advance foremost, as they grow and which at length so much surpasses the mouth as to hinder the Animal from eating Grass, which is its only food, so that he becomes obliged to die for hunger—The Indians make Spoons Cups &c of the horns, some of the latter are so large as to contain a Sufficiency to satisfy

[6] Possibly modern Cannon Ball River.

the Appetite of 4 men at a meal—There are also found on the Rocky Mountains, Ermines, and a kind of Wild Cat, whose skin is of a great Beauty, it is spotted as that of a Leopard; it is probable there are in those Unknown Regions many other kinds of Animals which are not found in the other different parts of America. As to the manners and Customs of the Indians I found they differ but little one from the other, In the different parts of the Continent across which I voyaged, all that I could remark was, that the nations who had but an imperfect knowledge of the Whites (being yet in a State of Nature) were of a softer and better Character. Whilst those who have frequent Communications with the Whites appeared to have contracted their vices Without having taken any of their virtues.

Notes on the Above Jurnals made by John Hay

No I.[7] It is no more than 200 leagues from the Ouinipique to the Grand Portage, Lac Lapluie or Rain Lake, being *half way*, there is here a Fort of *Dépót* for those who winter in the most interior parts of the North, having too far to come, never come to the G^{d} Portage—Such as the men of Athabasca &c

II. Saulteuxs or Chipeways, commonly called in the North *Bungees*, they make all the N. W. Bark Canoes and bring them to the Grand Portage or deliver them Where they are made to any of their Clerks requesting, they giving them a Bon for payment—

III. It is generally in the fall and not Summer that Indians go to war particularly those who pass all the Summer in Making Bark Canoes—

IV. The Assiniboine takes its source from the Portage of Lake Manitou, the Portage is made on account of the River Assiniboine losing itself at the Entrance of this Lake, So that you must make a Small carrying place to get to the Lake, which Lake is about 9 Leagues in Circumference and very woody, immensely rich by the great quantity of Beaver &c that are found on it there is an English fort at this Lake on the Portage—It is to be remarked at the time M^{r} M^{c} Kay wintered on this River, Catapoi

[7] In the manuscript these numerals are written in arabic. The roman numerals have been substituted in printing the document to avoid confusion with the numerals employed to designate the editorial footnotes.

was the furthermost Post they had and had been no further explored this is in 1787.

V. The River Assiniboine Empties itself in the Red River which empties itself in the Ouinipique about 18 leagues from Where the junction of the two Rivers. It is mostly known in Canada by the Name of Red River and not *Assiniboine*

VI. The Year /94./95 I wintered at Mouse River Establishment & at that time this Assiniboine River had forts to its source Viz^{t}. the Portage of Lake Manitou The following is a list of all the Post or forts from the Beginning to the End—1. Fort de LaPrairie or Fort la Reine (or Queens fort) about 20 leagues from the Red River—2^{d}. Pine Fort, ab^{t} 18 leagues further up— (this Fort is now abandoned) 3. Riviére á la Souris or Mouse River forts ab^{t} 20 leagues higher 4th. Montagne á la Bosse or hump Mountain fort, ab^{t} 3 days march higher or 25 leagues 5th. Catapoi River, fort, ab^{t} 16 leagues or 2 days march, 6th. Swan River fort 2 days march higher or ab^{t} 15 leagues. 7th. Coude de l'homme fort (or Man's Elbow) at 2 days march higher or ab^{t} 15 leagues And lastly the Source or Portage of Lake Manitou 8 days march or ab^{t} 20 leagues, the reason they take so much time, is the River is getting narrower & more Shallow to its Source, So that little more than 2½ leagues a day can be done, all those forts except 1st. 2^{d} & 4th are River emptying in it from the Southward —& the Hudsons Bay C^{o}. have forts also in this River since 1793—

VII. & VIII. The distance cannot be so great as laid down here, for it can be done in 5 days from Catapoye and seven days from Pine fort with Loaded Horses that have to Walk it almost all the way, I have been credibly informed that the Indians on a Spy party will do it on 2½ days, I do not therefore think it hardly 50 leagues from Catapoi and ab^{t} 60 from Mouse River. it is due South Course from Mouse River and M^{r} Goodwin a Gentleman of the Hudson Bay C^{o}. assured that Mouse River lay on the 45th deg. latitude & I have allways supposed by that, the Mandaines to be no more than 43..50 M or near 44.

IX. The Assiniboines keep on the River mostly the Whole Year but never heard of their going so far up—Besides the Assiniboines, there are Christinoes who generally [are] on the Upper parts of the Assiniboine R. but in the Winter Come as low as Mouse River to Trade, they are a cleaner sort of people than the

Assiniboines nor are they so Gigantic, and their complexion not so Black as the Assinib—

Description of the Route from Makina to the Interior parts of the North West Country by the South Side of Lake Superior;[8] which Journey or Voyage was performed by John Hay and others in the Year 1794. Vi^{t}

Left Makina the 27 June 1794 & got to the End of the Lake Superior on the South Side the 20th July, owing to Bad Weather & much head wind The Lake is too well known to give any description of it, suffice it to say that there are many more Rivers on this Side of it than the other the names & distances of which are as follows Vi^{t} as also of certain Campments & other remarkable places—

La Pointe au Poisson Blanc or White fish point is a noted place for camping and fifteen leagues from Sault S^{t} Mary's—

The Grand Marais or large Pond, is nothing more a deep Bay and fifteen leagues further—

Seven leagues further is the Portail,[9] it is a Ridge of high Rocks some upwards of 100 feet high, which now & then gives way & appears worn out by the water some parts appear as so many Rooms Supported by Pillars—(Portail) signifies a Front or Gate—

Then 3 leagues further arrive at the Big Island you cross over to the first, to save a round ab^{t} way (on acc^{t} of a deep Bay)—

6 Leagues from the Island further on is a River, called *la Riviére du Poisson qui Ris, the River of the fish that Laughs* And 6 Leagues further the *River au Chocolat* or Chocolate River No more Rocky hills to be seen it ends two leagues from the last mentioned River and Sandy Beach begins

---

[8] This description may profitably be compared with the much fuller and better ones written by James D. Doty and Henry R. Schoolcraft, who as members of the Cass exploring expedition of 1820 traversed this route. The former is published in *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 177 ff.; the latter in Schoolcraft's *Summary Narrative of an Exploratory Expedition to the Sources of the Mississippi River in 1820* * * * (Philadelphia, 1855). The distances given by Hay agree substantially with Schoolcraft's table (*op. cit.*, 92, 93); in this connection, however, it will be pertinent to recall Schoolcraft's caution that they are probably exaggerated about one-third, due to the habit of overestimating to which the traders and voyageurs were addicted.

[9] The noted Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior.

Two leagues further La Riviere des Morts or River of the dead, it is behind a Rocky Island at a mile from the Point that appears of Rock also—

Eight leagues further is the Riviére a Barsaloue, or Barsaloue's River—

Two & half leagues further La Riviére á la truite Saumaunée or *Sammon'd trout River* and one ½ leagues further Riviére Brulée or Burnt River and three leagues further River Huron from River Barsaloue for ab^{t} 5 leagues are Bays whose points are Steep Rocks the remain^{g}. 2 leagues Sandy Beach, there are Islands opposite this last River—Seven Leagues further is the River *Keewaiweenon* [Keweenaw], this River is 8 leagues long and we campt within 2 leagues of its head; Next day made the 2 leagues and got to the Portage of *Keewaiweenon:* they go on this River & make this carrying place which [is] ab^{t} 1 mile; one half of which is soft and muddy and the other hard: they go through this little River & carrying to avoid a deep Bay of 30 leagues, which Bay is called *Keewaiweenon Bay.* Five Leagues further another River called [Little] Salmon'd Trout River and ab^{t} 1 league further la Riviére a la Misére or *Misery River.* Five Leagues further is La Riviére au Battefeu or *Fire Steel River* And two leagues further the *River Onotonogan,* Five Leagues further the Riviére au Fer or *Iron River*—6 Leagues further is Riviére a la Carpe or *Carp River* two leagues further is the *Presqu'ile River*—Seven Leagues further is *Montreal River,* there are between the two last mentioned Rivers several small Rivers of no Consequence & have no names —People go and winter up this River and have to make a carry place of 15 leagues—Two leagues further is the Mauvaise Riviére or *Wicked River* they go and winter up on this River & have a Carrying Place of 30 leagues to make—Three leagues from the last River is a place Called the *Point* You have to make a traverse to an Island[10]—Five Leagues further is the Riviére aux Framboises or *Rasberry River* here we begin to Discover the Continent of the N. W. side of Lake—Three leagues further la Riviére á la Pêche or *Fishing River* and Seven leagues further the River *Paquee,e,ka* & 2 leagues further to another River called *Iron River* N. B. between the River a la Pêche & River *Paquee,e,ka*

[10] The point and island here alluded to are respectively Chequamegon and Madeline.

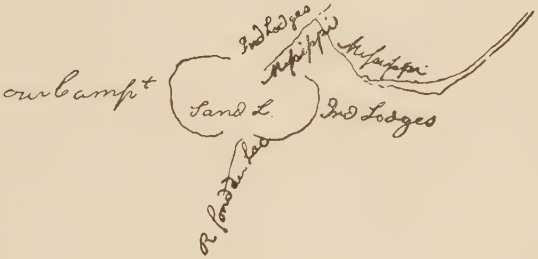
is the River au Sable or *Sand River* two leagues from the former—Two leagues further *Riviére Brulée* or *Burnt River*, four leagues further Riviére *aux Liards* or *Cottontree River*, in the distance of One League from the Last are two other Rivers Called Battle River And *Ameeneecann* [Aminicon] *River* and One League from the last is Fond du Lac or End of the Lake and one League further is M^r^ Sayer's[11] Fort belonging to the N. W. C°. & one League further is the River of Fond du Lac commonly called S^t^ Louis River—Seven Leagues further is what they called the *Demi Charge*[12] or half loaden, it is shallow & Rapidous you can pass but half loaded at the End of which seven leagues is the *Grand Portage* or *Great Carrying Place* it is 9 mile Long. Got through the Carrying place the Seventh day—this seven leagues is narrow & high hills—two leagues further on Same River very little water & Rapids is a carry^g^ place called le Portage des Couteaus or *Knife Carrying Place* or *Portage of the Knives* from its being very flinty and stony & cuts the men's feet, it is about 1 mile long and is done in two Poses or Rests, the Great Carrying Place has 19 Rests[13]—this River in the Spring is very high and even in the Summer when you have a Couple days Rains gives sufficient water from 21 July & to the 28^th^. the time I was in it, there was only 7 & 8 In Water One league further is the Isles Plés or *Bald Islands* waters low & rapids so bad had to make a Portage—Made one league further & fell in with the Grand Rapide or Great Rapids One & half leagues long very shallow & big Rocks 6 or 7 feet out of water, in some places steady & deep, Six leagues further in steady water but low & then fell in with Rapids ⅓ mile long Made ab^t^ 4 Leagues More on Steady Water & 2 leagues

[11] For a sketch of John Sayer, the trader here referred to, see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIX, 173, 174, note 41.

[12] Doty relates (*Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XIII, 204) that it is usually called the Women Portage, "because the women are generally set on shore here to lighten the canoes." It is to be noted that the route now leads up the St. Louis River, preparatory to crossing by way of Sandy Lake to the Mississippi.

[13] The "rest," or "pause," was the place where the voyageur, toiling along under his burden, stopped to rest. Doty explains that the distance between "pauses" is commonly computed at one-half a mile. However, they generally fall short of this distance, and furthermore, "seem to be calculated from the labor of carrying from one to another and not with any relation to the actual distance, as one that is hilly or marshy is not half the distance of one on level smooth ground."

further Rapids till you Reach *Portage de la Prairie* or Prairie Portage—this Carry[g] place has 11 Rests and ab[t] 5 Miles. at the End of which is a little lake of about ½ mile and then another Carry[g] place which is looked upon as a Continuation of Prairie Portage and 1 mile long, at the End of this Portage is another Small Lake of ab[t] one League in Circumference thick Wood all around you, you steer straight opposite to you and leads you to a Small Island then turn to the Westward which leads you to a small River which they call la Riviére du Portage de la Prairie, *The River of the Prairie Portage*,[14] we made one league in it and is too shallow & Rocky that in that distance we had to unload 3 times & carry goods on our Shoulders in the water at the End of this league you come to the *Portage des Pins* or Pine Portage ab[t] 28 acres long, at the End of this Portage we found the water so low obliged to make Dams—Made near 19 leagues in this Manner by Sluices in Seven Days time which brought [us] to Lac des Sable or *Sand Lake*, this Sand Lake appears nothing more than a deep Bay or Rather Bend full of Weeds; this makes alltogether 50 Leagues from Sayer's fort and which took us 26 days March—The Country from Sayer's fort to Sand Lake is the most part hilly & rocky, the Beach at Sand Lake is gravel, it is made in this form



great quantities of fish is taken here, called *Tuleebee* a kind of white fish but not so firm there are also white fish & other kinds, this little Lake is one league from the Mississippi; they reckon from here about 110 Leagues to the Source of the

[14] Modern Prairie River, rising in northern Carlton County, Minn.

Mississippi:[15] I went down the Mississippi about 61½ leagues, and then found Crow Wing River[16] that falls into it from the N. Side—this part of the Mississippi is narrow, the Shore is Rich Earth and a small Bluff all the way of ab^{t} 12 feet—and also is very winding—all low Lands—there are several Rivers that empty into it from Both Sides Vi^{t}. Mawainacishaiwai ab^{t} 14½ leagues from Sand Lake comes from the N. Side—Nine Leagues further *Riviére a la folle Avoine* or *Wild oat River* & Seven leagues further *Riviére Vaseure* or *Miry River*, both from the S. Side—& 4 leagues further *Riviére au Cedre Rouge, Red Cedar River* on the S. side. Eight leagues further *Riviére aux Pins* or Pine River—S. Side. Then River de Laile de Corbeau or Crow Wing River, is ab^{t} 19 Leagues had to go up the current, Shallow & Rocky Bottom some parts Rapids—this River ab^{t} 100 y^{ds}. wide & some places wider; ab^{t} 2 leagues up we found Riviére a la Mauve or *Gull River* ab^{t} 8 leagues further the *Riviére de la Prairie en long, Long Prairie R* the first time we killed 2 deers—next day killed 9 Deers—the Country during this River is mostly hilly—Then Entered the *River a la feuille* or *Leaf River* that falls in Crow Wing River from the Westward—Went up this River for 29 Leagues, this River is much narrower it more Winding than the one we left. I do not think it is more than 15 leagues in a strait line—10 leagues up this River we arrived at Reaumes fort[17] a fort built in 1792 when he

[15] Sandy Lake early became an important point in the fur trade of the Northwest. Zebulon Pike, who visited the trading station of the North West Company at this point in January, 1806, reports that it had been established twelve years earlier. Coues states—on what authority is not apparent—that it was a point of commercial and political importance even as early as 1763. See his *Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* * * * (New York, 1895), I, 138.

[16] Having descended the Mississippi to the mouth of Crow Wing River (still so called) Hay ascended the latter stream and its tributary, Leaf River, passing thence by way of Otter Tail Lake to the headwaters of Red River, in the vicinity of the town of Fergus Falls, Minn. Having reached Red River, the further route was down that stream to and up the Assiniboine. This route from Lake Superior to Red River although occasionally used by traders, was not the usual one. More commonly instead of ascending Crow Wing and Leaf rivers the traders continued the descent of the Mississippi to the Minnesota; ascending the latter stream, by a convenient portage the upper course of the Red was gained. The route pursued by Hay was much shorter, and at the same time much more difficult than the one by way of the Minnesota.

[17] Named, probably, for Joseph Reaume, an early trader among the Chippewa. For a sketch of his career see *Wis. Hist. Colls.*, XX, 400, note 16.

was stopt by the *Sious*, this River is so narrow at its Extremity that we could not Row but had to pole it—to go down the Mississippi and come up the other 2 Rivers, *Crow & Leaf* Rivers took us 9 Days—at the End of Leaf River came to a Small Lake ½ league long called *Leaf Lake* but perfectly round, at the end of which we had to go through a very narrow channel ab^{t} 50 yd long and not 3 yd wide thick of Weeds & Winding, this channel is generally a carrying place, but We were lucky in finding Sufficient Water, this leads you to another Small Lake of Same Size as the last called *Lac des Chênes* or *Oak Lake* or *Lake of the Oaks* you steer due West & brings you to Land— here you make a carrying place called *Portage des Chênes* or *Portage of the Oaks* it is a Small Island ab^{t} ⅓ mile long—this brings you to another Lake called *Lac Rond* or Round Lake ab^{t} 1½ mile went through it and then make a portage of ab^{t} 50 feet long, then enter another Lake ab^{t} 1 mile diameter go through it and brings to a camping place, called *Portage de la Queue de Loutre* or *Otter Tale Portage*—here begins the danger of being Stopped by the *Sious* who look upon all persons going through this Route to be *Chepeway Traders.* the Whole Country, from River La feuille to this place is a low Country and fine Prairies, from the End of Leaf River to this last Portage there are many more Small Lakes of ab^{t} 2 miles & 1 league circumference, but as they are out of our way, did not ask the names of them—this Otter Tale Portage has a very large Oak Tree at this End on which several names are marked—to the East of this Portage is all Prairie as far as the Eye can Reach, the portage is ½ mile long, it is also called the heights of the land it is the division Line of The Siou & Chipeway Land—went through a kind of Small lake for 1 mile, then Came to *Lac de la Queue de Loutre* or *Otter Tail Lake* ab^{t} 3 leagues long & 1 mile broad, (from the Entrance of this Lake you steer direct S. W. till you get near the End of it, then Steer due West & you find *Riviére Rouge* or *Red River*) but before you come to Red River, that is when you come to the End of Otter tail Lake you make ab^{t} ½ league, then enter two Small Lakes called *Lac a l'orignal* or *Elk Lake*, it is rather but one Lake, formed thus a small opening divides them after which You find Red River which is Shallow at the Mouth but very clear Water and ab^{t} 5 Yd wide at the Entrance—at Elk Lake we killed the first Stag—From Leaf Lake to the Red River can be called 6 Leagues, took us two days & half—

Went down the Red River for ab^{t}. 285 leagues which brought us opposite Assiniboine River which comes from the South Side ab^{t}. 18 Leagues further the Red River empties in the Ouinipeek—All the Red River is low lands and very Rich, wooded all the way on Both Sides with a thick Wood ab^{t} 4 to 6 Acres in depth and then full Prairies as far as the Eye can Reach—full of Wild Beasts, Vi^{t} Buffaloe, Stags & hinds—the first Sixty leagues is Rapids but of no consequence particularly when the waters are not too low & to find good Waters You must enter it towards the beg^{g}. of Sept^{r}. at furthest, there is one large Rapide and requires expert men to steer the Canoe through it & it is the last one it is dangerous—the River is very winding and narrow becomes a little wider ab^{t} 100 leagues from its mouth, but is not more 150 yd at the most and the first 100 leagues very often not 50 yd—the shore all the way has a small Bluff ab^{t}. 10 feet—Rivers and Remarkable Places are——Eighteen leagues down is a Rapid called Lasucrerie or *Sugar Rapid*, M^{r}. Laviolette who was in C°. with me broke two of his Canoes here & wetted 20 Bales—ten Leagues further passed la Riviére au Boeuf or Buffaloe River coming from the North Side. Nine leagues further came to the *Prairie Raze* or *Shaved Prairie*, here is full p[r]airie on Both Sides without any wood or shrub to be seen & continues for 18 leagues Which in a Strait line would be no more than 6.—this is the thickest part of the Buffaloe. Sixty leagues further passed *La Riviére aux Oiseaus puans* or *Stinking Bird R* this River on the S. side & comes from *R S^{t} Peters*—it is the Sioux *Road* Ab^{t} 14 Leagues further the *Riviére des Chayennes* or *Shayen* [Cheyenne] *River* South Side, this River is Said to lead to the Missouri, it is named after a nation who formerly resided here but were So harassed by the Assiniboine & *Sious* had to leave it & go on the Missouri—4 leagues further is the River au Bouf [Buffalo River] on the N Side—& 10 leagues further is *La Riviére aux Arbres Tree River* because there is one tree only on Each side of it, *on the South Side*—the Red River begins here to get wider, two leagues further is *La Riviére a la folle* on the N. Side or The *Fool's River* this River leads to Lac La Sangsue or Leach Lake near the Source of the Mississippi, Seven Leagues further is *la Riviére aux Outardes* or *Bustard River* S Side, 1 mile farther *River aux Marais, Pond*

River.[18] at 5 leagues further *la Riviére des Bute de Sable* or *Sand hill River*, I omitted in my journal to note on what Side but imagine it must be on the S Side[19]—twenty leagues further is *La Riviére de la Grande Fourche* or the *Great fork River*[20] On the N. Side, this River is as wide as the Red R it takes its Source from the *Red Lake* or *Lac Rouge*, M^{r} Reaume returned to Makina one Year up this River, from the Red Lake it leads you to Leach Lake & from thence down Mississippi to Sand Lake & thence through Fond du Lac or River S^{t} Louis to Lake Superior—3 leagues further is *La Riviére a la Tortue* or *Turtle River* on S Side. three leagues further is *La Riviére a l'eau Salle* or *Dirty water River* on the S Side—Eighteen leagues further *la Riviére a l'eau Salé* or *Salt Water River* on the N Side & two other small Rivers inconsiderable & have no Names—twelve leagues further on the N Side *la Riviére du Bois percé* or *Pierced Wood River* & two small other Rivers on Same side—ab^{t} 11 leagues passed *Fort du Tremble*, this is a wint^{g}. place of the N. W. C^{o}—on the S Side. 3 leagues further on same side Pamican River at 1 mile further M^{r} Reaumes fort where he wintered 1792—ab^{t} 14 leagues further *Riviére du Marais* or Pond River & 3½ leagues further *la Riviére au Gattya* or *Gattya River* ab^{t} 7 leagues further *Riviére au Rat* or *Rat River.* 6 Leagues further *La Riviére au Raze* or *Mire River* here we saw a fort of the N. W. C^{o} no one in it—10½ Leagues further is Assiniboine River on the South Side, opposite to which we Campt[21]—Took us twenty four Days from the Entrance of Red River to Assiniboine R although a good Current, but the Rapids Kept us back—Enter the Assiniboine R and wintered 139½ Leagues up at *River la Souris* or *Mouse River.*[22] This Assini:

---

[18] This stream is modern Marsh River, Minn.; the preceding one is Goose River, N. Dak.

[19] A map of Minnesota before me, published by J. H. Colton in 1855 shows Sand Hill River entering the Red from the east, just above Goose River—apparently the same stream as modern Marsh River, noted above.

[20] Now known as Red Lake River. Opposite its mouth is the city of Grand Forks, N. Dak.

[21] On the site of the city of Winnipeg; also of Fort Garry, a famous center of the Hudson's Bay Company.

[22] Here in 1794 the Hudson's Bay Company built Brandon House, for two decades an important center of its activities.

River is Shallow and Rapid Stony Bottom mostly high hills on the River but behind fine level Prairies which extend to a Great Distance—In the Spring we hired a North Guide And Came out the Same Rout as the N W C°. by ouinipeek to Grand Portage the Rout laid Down by M°Kenzie—It took us twenty four Days to get to Mouse River being late in the season having arrived at my wint^{g}. post the 28 Oct^{r}. had Ice & Snow to work against. After having marched two or three days in Assiniboine the Buffaloe &c forsook us—& no more were seen till November late at Mouse River—This River is very high in the Spring & no Rapids are Seen thirty & forty leagues a day Can be made in April—The Course is generally due West all the way, more particularly from Leaf River to the Assiniboine R—

Endorsed: Translation of M°Kay's Journal & copy of John Hay's Journal in the N W by S side of L Superior

Index

Index to Historical Papers

Acadia, French in, 121.
Adams, Charles Francis, *Works of John Adams*, cited, 158.
Adams, John, American statesman, 110; visits England, 157, 158; letter, 158.
Adams, John, sealer at Lebanon, 106.
Adelle v. Beauregard, cited, 127.
Aile de Corbeau River. See Crow Wing River.
Aliens, in United States, 89.
Allegan (Mich.), resident, 149.
Allegheny River, as a boundary, 153, 173; French on, 122.
Alliances, effect of, 88.
American Digest, cited, 124.
American Historical Association, *Report*, cited, 158, 163, 171, 174.
American Historical Review, cited, 160, 187.
American State Papers, Foreign Relations, cited, 163, 166, 185; *Indian Affairs*, 156, 162, 173.
Aminicon River, tributary of Lake Superior, 204.
Ancrum, Maj. William, letter, 159.
Appeals, in colonial courts, 80.
Appointing power, of president, 79, 81–83, 87.
Arbres River. See Tree River.
Archeology, near Trempealeau, described, 111–17.
Arikara (Rikkara) Indians, hostile, 196.
Arkansas, constitution, 137; suit in, 137, 138.
Army, commander-in-chief, 81, 82.
Arndt family, emigrants, 104.
Arnold, G. A., at Lebanon, 105, 106.
Arnold, Jack, Rock Island settler, 141, 143.
Articles of Confederation, government under, 162.
Assiniboin Indians, habitat, 191, 192, 201; hostile to Cheyenne, 208.
Assiniboine River, a watershed, 192; described, 191, 200, 201, 210; mouth of, 208, 209; post on, 192, 193, 209.
Athabasca, fur traders of, 200.
Atlantic Ocean, watershed for, 191.
Attotacto Indians. See Oto.
Augsburg Confession, in Reformed church, 104.
Au Sable River. See Sand River.
Austria, religious persecution in, 100.

Baden, government, 99.
Bald (Plés) Island, in St. Louis River, 204.
Baptists, among Germans, 106, 107; in Door County, 150.
Barsaloue's River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Battefeu River. See Fire Steel River.
Battle River, tributary of Lake Superior, 204.
Bavaria, government, 99.
Bays. See entries under individual names.
Beans, grown by Indians, 192, 194.
Beauharnois, Fort, on Mississippi, 120, 123.
Beaver Creek (Pa.), fort near, 156.
Beavers, abundant, 199, 200.
Beckwith, Maj. George, British agent, 164, 165, 169, 171.

Belgium, king of, 93.
Belleville (Ill.), resident, 188.
Bentert family, emigrants, 104.
Berlin (Germany), religious persecution at, 102, 104.
Biddle family papers, 187.
Big Island, in Lake Superior, 202.
Black River, tributary of Mississippi, post near, 111, 119.
Blackstone, Sir William, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, cited, 78, 79, 88.
Blair, Emma H., *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi*, cited, 118, 119.
Blanche River. See White River.
Bliesner family, emigrants, 104.
Blue Jacket, Shawnee chief, speech, 170.
Bochow family, emigrants, 104.
Boeuf River. See Buffalo River.
Bois Percé River. See Pierced Wood River.
Bombe River. See Cannonball River.
Bond, Phineas, British agent, 158; letters, 158, 163; report, 170.
Boone, John A., Rock Island settler, 141–43, 149, 150.
Borchardt family, emigrants, 104.
Bosse Mountain. See Hump Mountain.
Boston Tea Party, 144.
Braasch, H., emigrant, 104, 105, 107.
Brady's Peak, on the Mississippi, 113.
Brandenburg, settlers from, 100, 104, 105, 109.
Brandon House, fur-trade post, 209.
Brant (Thayendanegea), Joseph, Mohawk chief, 153, 161, 182; visits England, 156, 157, 159; at Indian councils, 173, 177; speeches, 154, 173; letters, 159, 170, 172, 173; letter to, 161.
Brendemuehl family, emigrants, 104.
Brücher, type of Germans, 100.
Brulé River (Mich.), tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Brulé (Burnt) River (Wis.), tributary of Lake Superior, 204.
Bryce, George, *Remarkable History of Hudson's Bay Company*, cited, 190.
Brymner, Douglas (ed.), *Report on Canadian Archives*, cited, 153–55, 157–59, 161, 163–65, 169, 171, 176.
Buchanan, James, inaugural address, 136.
Budahn family, emigrants, 104.
Buenning family, emigrants, 104.
Buffalo, habitat, 208, 209.
Buffalo (N. Y.), German emigrants at, 103.
Buffalo (Boeuf) River (Minn.), tributary of Red, 208.
Buffalo (Bouf) River (N. Dak.), tributary of Red, 204.
Bungee Indians. See Chippewa.
Burnt River. See Brulé River.
Bustard River. See Goose River.
Bute de Sable River. See Sand Hill River.
Butler, Col. John, Indian agent, 182; letters, 159.
Butler, Pierce, in Constitutional Convention, 90.
Butterfield, Consul W., cited, 122.

Cahokia (Ill.), trader at, 187, 188.
Caldwell, Justice—, opinion, 137, 138.
Calumet River, near Chicago, 143.
Camp Dubois, of Lewis and Clark, 187.
Campbell, Maj. —, British officer, 157.
Campbell, Justice John A., opinion, 137.
Campeau, François, blacksmith, 120.
Canada, in French régime, 118; governor, 121; in British régime, 88, 151–85; merchants, 187, 191, 197, 201; archives, manuscripts in, cited, 154, 155, 157, 159–61, 165–67, 171–73, 175–77.
Canadian Archives, *Reports*. See Brymner.

Index

Canadian Royal Society, *Proceedings and Transactions*, cited, 118.
Caneenawee Indians, trade with, 196.
Cannon Ball (Bombe) River, tributary of Missouri, 199.
Canoes, used in fur trade, 190; manufacture of, 200; broken, 208.
Carleton, Sir Guy. See Dorchester.
Carlton County (Minn.), stream in, 205.
Carmarthen, Marquis of. See Leeds.
Carp (Carpe) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Carroll, Charles, senator, 84.
Carver, Jonathan, locates post, 122; *Travels*, cited, 122.
Catapoi (Catapoye) River, post on, 191, 200, 201; voyage from, 192.
Cedarburg (Wis.), German settlement, 104, 106.
Cedre Rouge River. See Red Cedar River.
Champlain, Lake, French on, 121; cession discussed, 177, 179.
Charles, Fort, fur-trade post on Missouri, 195, 196.
Charlevoix, Pierre François Xavier, early traveler, 141.
Chase, Salmon P., as a lawyer, 132; chief-justice, 138.
Chayennes River. See Cheyenne River.
Chêne, Lake. See Oak Lake.
Chequamegon Bay, French post on, 120, 121.
Chequamegon Point, described, 203.
Cherokee River. See Tennessee River.
Cheyenne (Shayenns) Indians, hostilities with, 208; trade, 196.
Cheyenne River, tributary of Missouri, 199.
Cheyenne (Chayennes, Shayen) River, tributary of Red, 208.
Chicago, western metropolis, 143, 145; pioneers, 75, 124–26, 144; lawsuit, 124–39; World's Fair at, 76, 77; Literary Club, 124.
Chicago, Burlington & Northern Railway, route, 111.
Chickasaw Indians, expedition against, 121.
China, governmental changes in, 91.
Chippewa (Bungee, Saulteux) Indians, habitat, 148, 149, 191; language, 142; make canoes, 200; trade with, 206, 207.
Chippewa River, tributary of Mississippi, 119.
Chocolate (Chocolat) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 202.
Christian family, emigrants, 104.
Christino Indians. See Cree.
Cincinnati (Ohio), settled, 162.
Civil War, causes of, 129.
Clark, William, at St. Louis, 187; relations with Jessaume, 197. See also Lewis and Clark expedition.
Clarke, Gen. Alured, signs dispatch, 177; instructions for, 179; letters, 167; letters to, 167, 184.
Cleveland, Grover, president, 77; member of cabinet, 138.
Cobbett, William, *Parliamentary History*, cited, 152.
Colton, J. H., cartographer, 209.
Columbia River, explored, 186.
Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri, 186–88; agent, 195; post, 196.
Common law, on nationality, 93.
Compromise of 1850, repeals Missouri Compromise, 134.
Confederation, first attempts at, 80.
Congress, federal, relation to president, 82; duties, 82, 83; acts vetoed, 79; debate in, 97; powers on slavery, 129. See also Continental Congress.
Constitution, United States, adopted, 78, 79; provisions, 79–82, 129; compromises, 132; ratified, 86, 87, 91, 94; criticism of, 81.

Constitutional Convention, plans in, 86; members, 84, 90; action, 79–81, 84, 85; adjournment, 83.
Continental army, source of public opinion, 84.
Continental Congress, action, 80; method of voting, 84, 85; importance, 162; Indian policy, 154–57, 162; *Journals*, cited, 153, 154, 158; *Secret Journals*, 158; unpublished papers, 160.
Corbeau Indians. See Crow.
Corbin, David E., Rock Island settler, 141, 143.
Corn, grown by Indians, 192, 194.
Cottontree (Liards) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 204.
Coude de l'homme Fort. See Man's Elbow Fort.
Coues, Elliott, *Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike*, cited, 206.
Courts. See Judiciary, Supreme Court, United States District Court, and the several states.
Couteaux Portage. See Knife Portage.
Cree (Christino) Indians, described, 201, 202.
Crow (Corbeau) Indians, habitat, 194.
Crow Wing (Aile de Corbeau) River, tributary of Mississippi, 206; voyage on, 207.
Curtis, Newman, drowned, 146, 147; grave, 150.
Curtis family, drowning of, 147.
Cuyahoga River, as boundary, 156; Indians from, 177.
Cuyahoga-Muskingum Portage, 177.

Dana, Richard H., character, 110.
Dartmouth College case, cited, 138.
Dead (Des Morts) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 202.
Dearborn, Fort, garrison, 144.
Deer, shot for food, 206, 207; abundance of, 208.
Delaunay, David, affidavit, 127.
Delaware, executive called president, 80.
Delaware Indians, address, 157; council with British, 177.
Democrats, in Wisconsin legislature, 110.
Denmark, king's title, 93.
Denonville, Jacques René de Brisay, marquis, expedition, 119.
De Peyster, Col. Arent Schuyler, commandant at Detroit, 153.
Des Morts River. See Dead River.
Detour, Point, on Lake Michigan, 141.
Detroit (Mich.), importance of, 166–68, 178; Indians near, 171; tract near, 179; French commandant, 120; British commandant, 153, 169, 188; garrison, 161, 164, 165; trade at, 169; possible seizure, 170; native of, 188; in American régime, 125, 127, 129.
Dickens, Charles, *Barnaby Rudge*, cited, 77.
Dickinson, John, letter to, 156.
Dirty Water (Eau Salle) River, tributary of Red, 209.
District of Columbia, before formation, 90.
Dodge County (Wis.), settlement, 74, 99–110.
Door County (Wis.), agriculture in, 75; peninsula, 141; organized, 142; first taxpayer, 142; marriages in, 145, 146; schools, 150.
Dorchester, Guy Carleton, lord, governor of Canada, 151, 158, 159, 171, 172; instructions to, 175, 177; dealings with Indians, 172, 173, 175; with United States, 164, 165, 171, 172; official report, 160, 161; letters, 158–61, 163–65, 170, 177; letters to, 161, 163, 166, 175; goes to England, 176; sketch, 159.
Dornfeld, Frederick, emigrant, 104, 105.
Dorval, —, French voyager, 120.

Doty, James D., on exploring expedition, 202, 204.
Doughty, Capt. John, at Fort McIntosh, 156, 157; letter, 162.
Draper, Lyman C., secretary of Society, 111; discusses French posts, 122; manuscripts cited, 125, 153–56, 160, 162.
Dred Scott case, cited, 125, 138; discussed, 133–37.
Duane, William, letter to, 154.
Du Bois, Lake. See Woods (of the) Lake.
Dubois River, Lewis and Clark camp on, 187.
Du Tremble, Fort, on Red River, 209.
Duchoquet, A. B., affidavit, 127.
Duehring family, emigrants, 104.
Dundas, Henry, lord, secretary for home affairs, 175; letters to, 167, 174, 177; instructions, 175, 176.

Eau Sale River. See Salt Water River.
Eau Salle River. See Dirty Water River.
Edwards, Ninian, governor of Illinois, 124.
Electors, for president, purpose of, 85.
Elk (Original) Lake, drawing of, 207.
Ellsworth, Oliver, senator, 84.
Emerson, Dr. John, owner of Dred Scott, 134, 135.
Emigration, character of, 89; from Germany, 99–110.
England, constitution, 91, 92, 96; legal precedents in, 78, 79; governmental changes, 91; Germans emigrate to, 103; relations with colonies, 80, 94; with United States, 88, 151–85; fur-trade rivalries, 193, 196–98; merchants in Northwest, 190–93, 198, 200, 201, 204–10.
Erfurt (Germany), reformers in, 103.
Erie, Fort, held by British, 161.
Erie, Lake, approach to, 164, 179; lands on, 156; post, 161; settlement near, 154.
Erie Canal, route via, 104.
Ermine, habitat, 200.
Evans, John, Missouri trader, 187, 194; sketch, 188; journal, 195–200.

Federalist, exposition in, 79, 82, 83 86.
Fer River. See Iron River.
Fergus Falls (Minn.), portage near, 206.
Feuille River. See Leaf River.
Field, Eugene, Chicagoan, 135.
Field, R. M., counsel for Dred Scott, 135.
Field, Roswell M., Chicagoan, 135.
Finkelnburg, W. A., archeologist, 112, 115.
Finley, Maj. John, letters, 160.
Fire Steel (Battefeu) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Fishing (Pêche) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Flags, as symbols, 95.
Foin River. See Hay River.
Folle River. See Fool's River.
Folle Avoine River. See Wild Oat River.
Fond du Lac (Lake Superior), posts at, 204; route via, 209.
Fond du Lac River. See St. Louis River.
Fool's (Folle) River, tributary of Red, 208.
Ford, Paul L. (ed.), *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, cited, 169, 180, 183.
Ford, W. C. (ed.), *Writings of Washington*, cited, 154, 163, 181.
Foreign affairs, conduct of, 81–83.
Forsyth, James, witness, 126.
Forsyth, Thomas, plaintiff in suit, 124–29; "Papers," 125.
Forsyth v. Nash, discussed, 124–29; influence of, 130–32, 137–39.

Fortescue, J. B., manuscripts cited, 172, 178.
Fort Wayne (Ind.), Indian village at, 169.
Forts. See entries under individual names.
Fox Indians, wars, 120, 121.
Fox River, in Wisconsin, 118, 120, 179.
Fox-Wisconsin Portage, crossed, 118.
Framboises River. See Raspberry River.
France, governmental changes, 91; United States ally, 88, 94; king, 119; relations with England, 152, 184; Academy of History, 111. See also French.
Francke family, emigrants, 104.
Franquelin, Jean Baptiste Louis, cartographer, 111, 118, 119, 122.
Frederick William I, king of Prussia, 100.
Frederick William III, king of Prussia, 99; death, 103.
Frederick William IV, king of Prussia, 103.
Free Soil party, rise of, 132, 134.
Freiert, Frederick, emigrant, 104.
Freistadt (Wis.), German settlement, 104.
French, posts in Wisconsin, 74, 111–23; explore Northwest, 140, 141. See also France.
French and Indian War, participant, 122.
French Creek (Pa.), as a boundary, 173.
Friese family, emigrants, 104.
Froemming family, emigrants, 104.
Frontenac (Minn.), post near, 122.
Fuehrman family, emigrants, 104.
Fugitive Slave law, discussed, 131–35, 138.
Fur trade, affects British relations with United States, 151, 157, 166–68, 170; in Spanish Louisiana, 195–200; in Northwest, 190–95, 198, 200, 201, 204–7, 209.
Furburger, —, pastor, presides over conference, 108.

Galinee, René de Bréhant de, explorer, 141.
Galloway, Joseph, plan of government, 80.
Gamble, Justice—, of Missouri, 135.
Gardner, Henry, Rock Island settler, 145.
Garland, A. H., counsel, 138.
Garrett, Volney I., saved from drowning, 146, 147.
Garry, Fort, site, 209.
Gattya River, tributary of Red, 209.
Gaulke family, emigrants, 104.
Gault, Abram, constable, 106.
Gemeindeblatt-Kalendar, cited, 101.
Generis,—, defendant in suit, 130.
Georgetown (Md.), resident, 90.
Georgia, sentiment for Washington, 85.
Germany, empire formed, 91; emigration from, 99–104.
Geyer,—, pastor at Lebanon, 106–8.
Ghent, negotiations at, 185.
Girod, Nicholas, affidavit, 127.
Goedel, Edward, commissioner of highways, 106.
Goetsch family, emigrants, 104.
Goldsmith, Oliver, *Vicar of Wakefield*, cited, 92.
Goodwin, —, Hudson's Bay trader, 201.
Goose (Bustard, Outarde) River, tributary of Red, 208, 209.
Gossrow family, emigrants, 104.
Goths, king of, 93.
Gourds, grown by Indians, 192, 194.
Governors, share in appointments, 83.
Grabau, Johannes A., leader of German emigrants, 101–3; *Lebenslauf des Ehrwürdigen*, cited, 102.
Graham, Oliver Perry, founder of Sturgeon Bay, 144.
Graham, Robert, pioneer, 144.
Graham, Samuel, pioneer, 144.

Graham v. Strader and Gorham, cited, 129, 136; discussed, 133.
Grand Detour, of the Missouri, 194.
Grand Forks (N. Dak.), site, 209.
Grand Forks River. See Red Lake River.
Grand Marias, on Lake Superior, 202.
Grand Portage, from Lake Superior, 190, 200, 210.
Grand Portage, on St. Louis River, 204.
Grand River, in Ontario, 154.
Grand Traverse, of Lake Michigan, 141.
Grande Fourche River. See Red Lake River.
Grant, Jeremiah, school commissioner, 106.
Great Lakes, route via, 104; free navigation of, 151, 167, 179; posts on, 161, 166, 167; portages to, 162, 169, 178; in War of 1812, 185.
Green Bay, islands in, 140, 141.
Green Bay (Wis.), post at, 118; route via, 118, 119; mission at, 119.
Greene, Gen. Nathaniel, popularity, 85.
Grenville, William Wyndham, lord, secretary for home affairs, 161, 163, 166; message, 163, 164; speech cited, 152; issues instructions, 171, 172, 176–78, 180; memorandum, 167, 168; foreign secretary, 175; letters to, 163–65, 170, 171, 174, 180, 181; sketch, 163.
Grignon, Antoine, aids in excavating, 112–15.
Groseilliers, Médart Chouart, sieur de, explorer, 141.
Grube, Herman, emigrant, 104.
Guignas, Father Michel, chaplain, 120, 121.
Gull (Mauve) River, tributary of Crow Wing, 206.

Hafermeister family, emigrants, 104.
Hahn family, emigrants, 104.
Haldimand, Gen. Frederick, governor of Canada, 151–53; policy, 157, 168, 175; speech, 154; report, 167; letters, 154–56; letter to, 159; "Papers," cited, 153–56; "Private Diary," 163, 166.
Hall, Samuel, assessor, 106.
Hall, Thomas, treasurer, 106.
Hamblin, Rev. William B., Baptist missionary, 150.
Hamburg, German port, 103, 104.
Hamilton, Alexander, plan for federal government, 81; conversation with Washington, 86; policy in British negotiations, 165, 169, 171, 174, 180–83; author of *Federalist*, 79, 83.
Hammond, George, British agent, 173, 174, 176; instructions for, 176, 178; reports, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183; negotiations, 182; letters, 181–83; letters to, 156, 167, 172, 179, 180, 182, 184.
Hamtramck, Maj. John, letter, 160.
Harmar, Gen. Josiah, at Fort McIntosh, 156; expedition of, 169–71; letter, 160; letters to, 160, 162.
Harmar, Fort, built, 162; treaty at, 174.
Harris, Joseph, married, 150.
Hartman family, emigrants, 104.
Haskell, Chauncey, Chicago pioneer, 144.
Hay, Jehu, governor of Detroit, 188.
Hay, John, British trader, 187; notes on fur trade, 200–210; sketch, 188.
Hay (Foin) River, tributary of Missouri, 199.
Heiligenstadt (Germany), prison in, 102.
Hesse, government, 99.
Heuston, Judge B. F., archeologist, 111, 112, 115.
Hilke family, emigrants, 104.
Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report*, cited, 172, 178.
Hoeckendorf,—, emigrant, 104.
Hoehne, Gottlieb, emigrant, 104.

Hoehne, John, emigrant, 104.
Holand, Hjalmar R., sketch, 74, 75; "A Forgotten Community," 140–50.
Holy Alliance, organized, 99.
Hope, Henry, governor of Canada, 159; letters, 157, 159.
Houck, Louis, *Spanish Régime in Missouri*, cited, 187, 188.
House of Commons, in English government, 91.
House of Representatives, open sessions, 84; debate in, 97.
Howard, Fort, garrison at, 142.
Hudson River, route via, 104.
Hudson's Bay Company, posts, 201, 209.
Humboldt, Friedrick Wilhelm Heinrich Alexander, baron von, traveler, 76.
Hump (Bosse) Mountain, fort near, 201.
Hunt, Gaillard, sketch, 74; "The President of the United States," 76–98; portrait, frontispiece.
Huron, Lake, access to, 179.
Huron Indians, in Wisconsin, 144; at Detroit, 120; council with British, 177.
Huron Islands, in Lake Michigan, 141.
Huron River, tributary of Lake Superior, 204.
Hustisford (Wis.), road via, 105.

Illinois, Spanish, 193, 195; territorial period, 124, 127, 129; constitution, 130, 131; slavery in, 133; lawsuit, 130, 131.
Illinois Colony, on Rock Island, 144, 146, 148.
Indian Point, on Washington Island, 147.
Indiana Territory, conditions in, 90; Chicago in, 125.
Indians, antiquities, 115; war customs, 88, 191, 200; agriculture, 192, 194; manufactures, 192, 199, 200; diseases among, 194; effect of white contact, 95, 192, 200; barrier state for, 151–85. See also the several tribes.
Ingles, —, fur-trade merchant, 167.
Irish, in Wisconsin, 105.
Iron (Fer) River (Mich.), tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Iron River (Wis.), tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Iroquois (Six Nations) Indians, in French régime, 119, 120, 141; in the Revolution, 153; British relations with, 154, 155, 182; treaty with, 156. See also Mohawk, Seneca, and Tuscarora.
Italy, kingdom formed, 91.

Jackson, Andrew, a pioneer type, 88.
Jaeger family, emigrants, 104.
Japan, government, 91.
Jay, John, letter to, 158.
Jay's Treaty, secures surrender of posts, 184.
Jefferson, Thomas, criticism of Constitution, 81; secretary of state, 169, 180, 183; plans overland expedition, 186.
Jefferson Barracks (Mo.), army post, 133.
Jefferson County (Wis.), German settlers in, 106.
Jefferson Parish (La.), resident, 130.
Jessaume (Jussom), René, among Mandan, 197; attack on Evans, 197, 198.
Jesuits, missions in Wisconsin, 117, 121.
Johnson, Sir John, British Indian agent 154, 172, 177; letters 157, 161, 175; letters to, 157, 159, 161, 170, 172, 174.
Johnson, John, Rock Island settler, 146.
Johnson, Dr. Samuel, cited, 91, 92.
Johnson, Sir William, negotiates treaty, 154.

Johnson's Rapids (Wis.), early name for Watertown, 105.
Joliet (Ill.), residents, 148.
Jolliet, Joseph, fur trader, 120.
Jones v. Van Zandt, slavery case, 131, 132.
Judiciary, precedents for, 80. See also the several courts.
Julia v. McKinney, discussed, 133.
Jussom. See Jessaume.

Kaukauna (Wis.), mission at, 143, 144.
Kellogg, Louise Phelps, on Society's staff, 74; "Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau," 117–23.
Kemper, Jackson, "Journal" cited, 143.
Kennison, David, Chicago pioneer, 144.
Kentucky, slavery in, 129–31, 136.
Keweenaw Bay, visited, 203.
Keweenaw River, on portage route, 203.
Kezias, Chippewa chief, 148, 149.
Kindermann,—, pastor, aids emigration, 104; at Cedarburg, 104, 106.
King, Rufus, senator, 84.
Kinmore, Roderick, school commissioner, 106.
Kinzie, John, plaintiff in suit, 124–29, 138.
Kirchayn (Wis.), German settlement, 104.
Kittanning (Pa.), location, 153.
Knife (Couteaux) Portage, on St. Louis River, 204.
Knox, Henry, secretary of war, 169, 173; report, 162; letter, 169; letter to, 160.
Kronitz family, emigrants, 104.
Krueger, Joachim, emigrant, 103, 104, 106.
Kunze family, emigrants, 104.
Kurt family, emigrants, 104.

La Barre, Antoine Lefevre de, governor of Canada, 118.
La Baye (Wis.). See Green Bay.
La Crosse (Wis.), residents, 112.
Ladiwig family, emigrants, 104.
La Grange v. Chouteau, discussed, 133.
Laile de Corbeau River. See Crow Wing River.
Lake Manitou Portage, 200, 201.
Lakes. See entries under individual names.
Lalime, John, witness, 126.
La Luzerne, Chevalier de, letter to, 156.
Langlade, Augustin, fur trader, 120.
La Reine, Fort. See Prairie Fort.
La Salle, Robert Cavelier de, explorer, 141; discoveries mapped, 118.
Laughing Fish (Poisson qui Ris) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 202.
Laviolette, Gabriel Attina *dit*, fur trader, 208.
Leach, Lyman, school commissioner, 106.
Leaf Lake, route via, 207.
Leaf (Feuille) River, voyage on, 206, 207, 210.
Leavitt, Orpha E., sketch, 75; "British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782–92: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State," 151–85.
Lebanon (Wis.), settled, 74, 99–101.
Lebue, Louis, Rock Island settler, 141, 143, 144.
Lee, Richard Henry, senator, 84.
Leech (Sangsue) Lake, voyage via, 208, 209.
Leeds, Francis Osborne, marquis of Carmarthen, duke of, British minister, 163, 166, 170; correspondence, 158.
Le Gardeur, Jacques. See St. Pierre.
Leipsic, veteran of, 109.
Lemke family, emigrants, 104.
Lemont (Ill.), settlers, 144.
Lernoult, Fort, at Detroit, 161.

Le Sueur, Pierre Charles, French explorer, 119, 123.
Lettow family, emigrants, 104.
Le Vasseur, Pierre, affidavit, 127.
Lewis, Meriwether, at St. Louis, 187.
Lewis and Clark expedition, on the Missouri, 186, 187, 197; relations with Sioux, 195.
Liards River. See Cottontree River.
Library of Congress, manuscript division, 74.
Lincoln Park, Chicago, monument in, 144.
Linctot, Louis René Godefroy de, in Wisconsin, 120.
Linctot, René Godefroy, sieur de, post on Mississippi, 113–15, 120–23; sketch, 120.
Little Salmon Trout River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Local option, in Wisconsin, 110.
London (Eng.), negotiations at, 151, 163; Brant visits, 157, 159.
Long, Isabella, married, 188.
Long Prairie (Prairie en Long) River, tributary of Crow Wing, 206.
Louisiana (province), in Spanish régime, 187–89, 193–200; transfer to United States, 188; map of, 118, 119.
Louisiana (state), courts of, 139; supreme court, 124–26, 129, 130.
Louisiana Territory, slavery in, 129, 133.
Louse Island, origin of name, 140, 141.
Lovejoy, George, Rock Island settler, 141, 142.
Low German, dialect, 100.
Loyalists, in the Revolution, 94; at Detroit, 165; British provisions for, 151.
Loyalty. See Patriotism.
Luther, Brazil, Rock Island settler, 144.
Luther, Job, Rock Island settler, 143–45.
Luther, Martin, influence on church, 100.
Luther, Seth, Rock Island settler, 144.
Lutherans in Germany. See Reformed church.

Macaulay, Thomas B., cited, 92, 96.
McKay, James, British trader, 190–93, 200; agent of Missouri Company, 195–97; journal, 190–95; sketch, 187, 188.
McKee, Alexander, British Indian Agent, 178, 183; council with Indians, 172, 182; letters, 157, 170, 172, 173; letters to, 157, 182.
McKenzie, Alexander, describes route, 210.
Mackinac, fur-trade center, 202, 209.
Mackinac Island, fort on, 161. See also Michillimackinac, Fort.
Mackinac, Straits of, route via, 141.
McIntosh, Fort, treaty at, 156, 174; officers, 156, 157.
McLaughlin, A. C., "Western Posts and British Debts," cited, 156.
McLean, Allan, commandant at Niagara, 153.
McMillan, Neil, Rock Island settler, 141, 142.
McNeil, James, Rock Island settler, 141–43.
Macomb, William, Detroit merchant, 171.
Madeline Island, in Lake Superior, 203.
Madison, James, in Constitutional Convention, 80; in Congress, 83; views cited, 83, 85–87; *Letters*, 171; *Life and Writings*, 74. See also *Federalist*.
Madison (Wis.), topography, 105; residents, 74, 75, 89, 90, 112.
Madrid (Spain), British agent at, 172.
Magdeburg (Germany), prison in, 102; reformers, 103.
Maha Indians. See Omaha.

Index

Mandan Indians, villages of, 186, 188, 199, 201; visits to, 192, 193, 195, 196; Spanish among, 196–98; British post, 196–98; customs noted, 192.

Manitou, Lake, on portage route, 200, 201.

Man's Elbow (Coude de l'homme) Fort, fur-trade post, 201.

Marais River. See Marsh and Pond rivers.

Margry, Pierre, *Decouvertes et Établissements des Français*, cited, 120.

Marietta (Ohio), founded, 162.

Marin, Joseph, in Wisconsin, 122.

Marin, Capt. Pierre Paul, French commandant, 122, 123.

Marlow family, emigrants, 104.

Marsh (Marais) River, tributary of Red, 208, 209.

Martin, J., judge, 126.

Martin Luther College, at Buffalo, 103.

Mason, George, in Constitutional Convention, 81, 85.

Massachusetts, loyalty of, 85; in 1789, 90; rebellion in, 159, 160.

Mathews, Maj. Robert, secretary of Canadian governor, 159; policy, 167, 168; letters, 156, 159, 161, 166.

Maumee River, portage to, 173; rapids on, 179; as a boundary, 156.

Mauportuis (Ill.), visited, 127.

Mauvaise (Wicked) River, fur trade on, 203.

Mauve River. See Gull River.

Mawainacishaiwai River, location, 206.

Melons, introduced among Indians, 194.

Mendota limestone, used for hearths, 116.

Metternich, Clemens Wenzel Lothar, prince, organizes Holy Alliance, 99.

Miami Indians, village, 169, 170; importance of, 173; policy, 173.

Michigan, Indians of, 141, 156; upper peninsula, 141; slavery in territory, 127, 128; *Pioneer and Historical Collections*, cited, 153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 161, 164, 166–75, 177–80, 182, 184.

Michigan, Lake, islands in, 140, 141; schooner on, 142; communication with, 167, 168, 179.

Michillimackinac, Fort, in British hands, 161; surrendered, 167, 168.

Mielow family, emigrants, 104.

Mifflin, Gov. Thomas, letter to, 156.

Milwaukee (Wis.), Indians at, 141; emigrants, 104, 105.

Miner, Henry D., Rock Island settler, 143–45, 148.

Miner, Rev. Jesse, missionary, 143, 144.

Miner, T. T., Rock Island settler, 144, 145.

Mingo Indians, address, 157.

Minitaree Indians, village, 192, 196.

Minnesota, French fort in, 120; map of, 209.

Minnesota (St. Peters) River, French on, 119; British traders, 206, 208.

Mire (Raze) River, tributary of Red, 209.

Miry (Vaseure) River, tributary of Mississippi, 206.

Misery (Misère) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.

Mississippi River, as a boundary, 170; routes to, 168, 178, 179, 193, 204, 209; bluffs, 114; headwaters, 119, 120, 178, 191, 206, 208; navigation of, 165, 178; posts on, 111, 113, 118–23; voyages, 193, 209.

Mississippi Valley Historical Association, *Proceedings*, cited, 122.

Mississippi Valley Historical Review, cited, 187.

Missouri, in Spanish régime, 186–88; territorial courts and legislature, 188; slavery cases in, 133, 138; supreme court, 134–36; *Historical Collections*, cited, 187.

Missouri Company. See Commercial Company for the Discovery of the Nations of the Upper Missouri.
Missouri Compromise, validity, 129; effect, 133, 135; repeal, 134; declared unconstitutional, 136.
Missouri River, early exploration, 186–88, 191, 193–200; described, 198–200; falls, 194, 199; great bend, 194; routes to, 191, 192, 208; trade on, 192–94.
Mohawk Indians, driven from United States, 153; remove to Canada, 155. See also Brant, Joseph.
Mohawk River, route via, 167.
Moldenhauer, H. R., aid acknowledged, 99.
Moldenhauer, Henry, merchant, 106.
Moldenhauer, J. R., emigrant, 104, 109.
Moldenhauer, Louise, married, 106.
Moldenhauer, Sophie, death, 106.
Montmorin, Armand Marc, count de, French minister, 174.
Montreal, fur-trade rendezvous, 178, 190.
Montreal River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Morehead, J. H., counsel, 132.
Morris, Gouverneur, American diplomatic agent, 163, 165, 166, 168; letters, 163, 164, 166; letter to, 181; cited, 85.
Morris, Robert, senator, 84.
Motz, Henry, secretary to governor of Canada, 171; letter, 171.
Mounds. See Indians: antiquities.
Mountain goat, described, 199.
Mouse (Souris) River, fur-trade on, 201, 209, 210.
Mueller family, emigrants, 104.
Murray, Maj. Patrick, letter to, 169.
Muskingum River, as a boundary, 173, 177, 179; portage to, 177.

Napoleon I, incident of, 76; war with England, 184; overthrown, 99, 100.
Napoleonic Wars, 184; effect of, 109; veteran, 184.
Nash, Jeffrey, suit against, 124–29. See also Forsyth v. Nash.
Naturalization, process, 89.
Naudowessies Indians. See Sioux.
Navy, commander-in-chief, 81, 82.
Neill, E. D., *History of Minnesota*, cited, 119; Macalester College, *Contributions*, 122; conclusions, 122.
Nepean, Evan, letters to, 157, 159.
New France. See Canada.
New Hampshire, executive called president, 80.
New Jersey, plan for federal government, 81.
New Orleans (La.), lawsuit at, 124, 126; mayor, 127; resident, 125.
New York (city), port of entry, 104; residents, 135, 144; British agent at, 164.
New York (state), territory in, 180.
New York Indians, remove to Wisconsin, 143.
Newman, A. W., at Trempealeau, 111, 112.
Niagara, fort at, held by British, 161, 168; commandants, 153, 159; Indian council at, 157.
Nicolet, Jean, discoverer, 121, 141.
Noack family, emigrants, 104.
Nome (Alaska), distance, 89, 90.
Nootka Sound, episode, 163.
Noquet, Big Bay de, location, 149.
Noquet, Little Bay de, location, 149.
North, Frederick, lord, letter to, 153, 155, 175.
North West Fur Company, posts, 204, 206, 209; route, 210.
Northwest, traders in, 187–210.
Northwest posts, held by British, 151, 152, 155, 157, 160, 165, 172; list of, 161; reasons for retaining, 158, 162; surrender discussed, 164, 166–68, 171, 175–77, 180; surrendered to United States, 184, 185.

Northwest Territory, Indians of, 151, 152, 156; British policy in, 151–85; governor, 164; trade of, 166.
Norwegians, in the Northwest, 75; in Wisconsin, 146.

Oak (Chêne) Lake, on portage route, 207.
Oder River, settlement on, 100.
Oderbruch (Germany), emigration from, 100, 103, 104.
Ohio, Indians of, 182; land claim, 173; emigrants from, 144.
Ohio River, as a boundary, 129, 153, 156, 169, 173, 177, 179; portages from, 162, 164; fort on, 156; patrolled, 160.
Oiseaus Puans River. See Stinking Bird River.
Oliver, Andrew, endangers colony, 148, 149.
Oliver,—,widow, Rock Island settler, 148, 149.
Olson, Ole, married, 146.
Omadi (Neb.), post at, 195.
Omaha (Maha) Indians, villages, 194, 195, 198; post among, 195, 196.
Oneida Indians, relation to United States, 153.
Oneida River, route via, 167.
Ontario, Lake, posts on, 161, 167.
Ontonagon River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Ordinance of 1787, cited, 127, 128, 135; discussed, 129, 132.
Ordway, Serg. John, journal, 187.
Original Lake. See Elk Lake.
Osborn v. Nicholson, discussed, 137.
Oswego, Fort, retained by British, 161; surrendered, 167.
Oto (Attotactoes, Ottoes) Indians, habitat, 194.
Ottawa (Can.), Parliamentary Library at, 179. See also Canada: archives.
Ottawa Indians, council with, 177.
Otter Tail (Queue de Loutre) Lake, portage to, 206, 207.
Ouinipeek (Ouinipique), Lake. See Winnipeg, Lake.
Ouisconsin River. See Wisconsin River.
Outardes River. See Goose River.

Pacific Ocean, watershed for, 191; exploration to, 186, 193, 195, 196.
Pamican River, tributary of Red, 209.
Pankow, Fraülein —, married, 104.
Pankow, Erdman, emigrant, 104; teacher, 107–9; appearance, 109, 110.
Pannenberg family, emigrants, 104.
Paquee, e, ka River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Paris (France), treaty of, 152, 153; infractions of, 158, 163–65, 176; fulfillment, 152, 163, 172; boundary article, 177–79.
Patriotism, source of, 76; defined, 91–95; relations to presidency, 93–98.
Patronage, federal, 79; source of, 87.
Pause (rest), term explained, 204.
Pêche River. See Fishing River.
Pelée Island, in the Mississippi, post on, 119, 123.
Pennsylvania, in French régime, 121; militia, 162; Indian claims in, 173, 177; territory to be ceded, 180; unicameral legislature, 80; executive, 80; slavery cases in, 132, 133.
Peoria (Ill.), resident, 125, 127.
Pepin, Lake, posts on, 119, 120, 122.
Perrot, Nicolas, French explorer, 111, 141; posts, 113, 114, 118, 119, 122; sketch, 118.
Perrot, Fort, location of, 122.
Persecution. See Religious persecution.
Philadelphia (Pa.), Constitutional Convention at, 90; United States capital, 173.
Philips, Albert, justice of peace, 106.

Phillips, Charles, commissioner of highways, 106.
Phoenicians, cited, 99.
Pictured Rocks, of Lake Superior, 202.
Pierce, Eben D., contributor, 74; "Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau," 111–13.
Pierced Wood (Bois Percé) River, tributary to Red, 209.
Pieritz family, emigrants, 104.
Pike, Zebulon M., expedition, 206.
Pine Fort, fur-trade post, 201.
Pine (Des Pins) Portage, described, 205.
Pine (Pins) River, tributary of Mississippi, 206.
Pioneers, effect of Indian warfare on, 88.
Pitt, William, prime minister, 155, 158, 165, 168, 175.
Pitt, Fort, location, 156.
Plés Island. See Bald Island.
Pluie, Lake. See Rainy Lake.
Plymouth Barracks, letter from, 166.
Poisson Blanc Point. See Whitefish Point.
Poisson qui Ris River. See Laughing Fish River.
Pomerania, emigration from, 103, 104.
Ponca Indians, habitat, 194.
Pond (Marais) River, in Manitoba, 209.
Pope, Alexander, *Essay on Man*, cited, 78.
Population, changes in, 89.
Portail. See Pictured Rocks.
Posin family, emigrants, 104.
Posts, Northwestern. See Northwest posts.
Potawatomi Indians, habitat, 141.
Potawatomi Island. See Rock Island.
Prairie (La Reine) Fort, fur-trade post, 201.
Prairie Portage, from St. Louis River, 205.
Prairie River, in Minnesota, 205.
Prairie du Chien (Wis.), French post at, 122.
Prairie en long River. See Long Prairie River.
Prairie Raze River. See Shaved Prairie River.
Precedent, effect of, 78, 88.
Prentice, Judson, surveyor, 105.
Presidency, discussion of, 76–98.
Presqu'ile River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Prigg v. Pennsylvania, discussed, 132, 133.
Protestants, in Germany, 100.
Prussia, government of, 99–103.
Prussing, Eugene E., sketch, 74; "Chicago's First Great Lawsuit," 124–39.
Public opinion, formation, 84, 85, 94; effect on presidency, 96–98.
Pumpkins, grown by Indians, 192, 194.

Quaife, Milo M., superintendent, 75; "Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal—and Others," 186–210; *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, cited, 124, 125, 129, 144.
Quebec, capitol of Canada, 119, 151, 154, 159; Indian council at, 172, 173, 177.
Queue de Loutre Lake. See Otter Tail Lake.

Raasch family, emigrants, 104.
Rabenhorst family, emigrants, 104.
Rachael v. Walker, discussed, 133, 135.
Radisson, Pierre Esprit, sieur de, explorer, 141.
Rainy (Pluie) Lake, on fur-trade route, 190; post on, 200.
Raisin River, as a boundary, 179.
Randall, Benjamin, at Lebanon, 105.
Randolph, Edmund, in Constitutional Convention, 81, 85; letter to, 86, 87.

Raspberry (Framboises) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Rat River, tributary of Red, 209.
"Rathgeber," in German settlement, 110.
Raze River. See Mire River.
Reaume, Joseph, fur trader, 206, 207, 209.
Red Banks (Wis.), Indian village at, 141.
Red Cedar (Cedre Rouge) River, tributary of Mississippi, 206.
Red (Rouge) Lake, in Minnesota, 209.
Red Lake (Grand Forks, Grande Fourche) River, tributary of Red, 209.
Red (Rouge, of the North) River, location, 201; route described, 206–9.
Reed, James, Trempealeau pioneer, 112, 115.
Reformation, in Germany, 100.
Reformed Lutheran church in Prussia, 100–103; in United States, 103, 104, 106–9.
Reinsch family, emigrants, 104.
Religious persecution in Germany, 99–103.
Removal, president's power of, 83.
Republican party, rise of, 132.
Rest. See Pause.
Revolutionary War, causes of, 94; alliances in, 88; public opinion during, 84, 85; in the West, 188; close of, 151, 152; veteran, 144.
Rice, Roselia, teacher, 150.
Rikkara Indians. See Arikara.
Rivers. See entries under individual names.
Robertson, Capt. Daniel, letter to, 156.
Roches Jaunes River. See Yellowstone River.
Rock County (Wis.), history, 99.
Rock Island (Ill.), military post at, 133, 136.
Rock (Louse, Potawatomi) Island (Wis.), location, 140; settlement on, 140–50.
Rock River, Wisconsin settlement on, 105.
Rocky Mountains, as a watershed, 191, 194, 199; animals in, 199, 200; Indians near, 192, 198; described, 198.
Roe, Elizabeth, married, 145.
Roehrike family, emigrants, 104.
Roessler family, emigrants, 104.
Rohr, Capt. Henry Von, leader of German emigrants, 101–3.
Roman law, cited, 93.
Rose, Judge —, counsel, 138.
Ross, Maj. —, letter to, 155.
Rouge Lake. See Red Lake.
Rouge River. See Red River.
Round (Rond) Lake, route via, 207.
Rush-Bagehot agreement, 180, 185.
Russia, government, 91.
Rutledge, John, in Constitutional Convention, 85.

Sable River. See Sand River.
St. Andrews. See San Andres.
St. Antoine, Fort, on the Mississippi, 119, 120, 122.
St. Clair, Arthur, governor of Northwest Territory, 162, 164, 169; instructions, 162, 169, 173; expedition, 173–75; letter, 169.
St. Clair River, as a boundary, 179.
St. Croix River, French claim, 119.
St. Helena, Island, in Lake Michigan, 141.
St. Lawrence River, estate on, 118; route via, 179.
St. Leger, Gen. Barry, letter, 157.
St. Louis (Mo.), Lutherans at, 106, 109; residents, 127; merchants, 186–88; army post near, 133; lawsuit at, 135.
St. Louis County (Mo.), settlements in, 188.
St. Louis (Fond du Lac) River, route via, 204, 209.

St. Lusson, Simon François Daumont, sieur de, at Sault Ste. Marie, 118.
St. Martin's Island, in Lake Michigan, 146,
St. Nicolas, Fort, on the Mississippi, 119.
St. Paul (Minn.), resident, 112; relic taken to, 114.
St. Peters River. See Minnesota River.
St. Pierre, Jacques le Gardeur, sieur de, at Wisconsin post, 121–23; sketch, 121.
Salmon Trout (Truite Saumannée) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 203.
Salt Water (Eau Salé) River, tributary of Red, 209.
Salzburg emigration from Austria, 100.
Salzmueller family, emigrants, 104.
San Andres (Mo.), settled, 188.
Sand Lake. See Sandy Lake.
Sand (Sable) River, tributary of Lake Superior, 204.
Sand Hill (Bute de Sable) River, identified, 209.
Sandford, John F. A., owner of Dred Scott, 135, 136.
Sandusky (Ohio), Indian council at, 154, 182.
Sandy (Sand) Lake, on portage route, 204, 205, 209; fur-trade at, 206; drawing of, 205.
Sangsue Lake. See Leech Lake.
Saskatchewan River, French on, 121.
Sault Ste. Marie, pageant at, 118; French explorers, 141; rout via, 202.
Saulteux Indians. See Chippewa.
Sayer, John, fur-trader, 204, 205.
Scates, Judge —, opinion, 130, 131.
Schaar family, emigrants, 104.
Schank, Capt. John, report, 166, 167.
Schley family, emigrants, 104.
Schoenike family, emigrants, 104.
Schoolcraft, Henry R., *Summary Narrative*, cited, 202.
Schroeder family, emigrants, 104.
Schueller family, emigrants, 104.
Schuette family, emigrants, 104.
Schulz family, emigrants, 104.
Schwefel, Frederick, emigrant, 104, 109.
Schwefel, Frederick F., in Wisconsin legislature, 109.
Schwefel, Otto F., aid acknowledged, 99.
Schwefel, William, sketch, 109, 110.
Schwefel family, emigrants, 104, 110.
Scotland, native, 187.
Scott v. Emerson, discussed, 129, 133–35.
Seifert family, emigrants, 104.
Senate, share in government, 82, 83; first session, 84; treaty-making, 79, 81; debate in, 97; early members, 84. See also Congress.
Seneca Indians, council with British, 177.
Setzkorn, Carl, married, 106.
Setzkorn, William, emigrant, 103, 104.
Seville, archives at, 187.
Seward, William H., as a lawyer, 132.
Shaved Prairie (Prairie Raze) River, tributary of Red, 208.
Shawnee Indians, policy, 173; speeches, 157, 170.
Shawneetown (Ill.), slave at, 130.
Shayen River. See Cheyenne River.
Shayenns Indians. See Cheyenne Indians.
Shays Rebellion, in Massachusetts, 159, 160.
Shelburne, William Petty, lord, prime minister, 152, 153, 155.
Shipman, W. W., saved from drowning, 146, 147.
Shivitaun Indians, habitat, 194.
Silver Band, Chippewa chief, 148–50.
Simcoe, John Graves, lieutenant governor, 178, 182; instructions for, 179; letters, 156, 167, 180, 182, 184; letters to, 181–83; "Papers," 179, 181–83.

Sioux (Naudowessies) Indians, habitat, 118–20, 194, 195; war with Cheyenne, 208; with Chippewa, 191; hostile to traders, 207; posts among, 120–23; route of, 208.
Six Nations Indians. See Iroquois.
Slavery, congressional rights over, 129; in Illinois, 124, 126, 127, 129–31; Kentucky, 129–31, 136; Supreme Court passes on, 131–36; destroyed by nationalism, 94.
Smallpox, among Indians, 194.
Smith, Maj. —, letters, 169, 170; letter to, 172.
Smith, William H., *St. Clair Papers*, cited, 156, 157, 162, 163, 169, 173.
Snelling, Fort, slave at, 133, 136.
Souris River. See Mouse River.
South Carolina, in 1789, 90; letter from, 92.
Spain, governmental changes, 91; relations with England, 152, 163, 164, 168, 170; with United States, 88, 178.
Spanish, in America, 89; régime in Louisiana, 186–88, 193–200.
Squier, George H., archeologist, 74, 112, 113; "Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau," 113–17.
Stanwix, Fort, treaties at, 153, 154, 156.
Steinborn, William, emigrant, 104.
Stinking Bird (Oiseaus Puans) River, tributary of Red, 208.
Stockbridge Indians, missionary for, 143, 144.
Stone, William L., *Life of Brant*, cited, 157, 161.
Strader v. Graham. See Graham v. Strader and Gorham.
Sturgeon Bay (Wis.), founder, 144.
Sucrerie Rapids. See Sugar Rapids.
Sugar Island, settlement on, 105.
Sugar (Sucrerie) Rapids, in Red River, 208.
Sullivan's Peak, on the Mississippi, 113.
Sun Prairie (Wis.), topography, 108.
Superior, Lake, access to, 179; site on, 190; route via, 120, 202–4, 209, 210.
Supreme Court, colonial precedents, 80; cases appealed to, 124, 125, 131, 132; decision in Dred Scott case, 136–38.
Surveys of Indian lands, 156, 157, 159.
Susquehanna River, as a boundary, 153.
Swan River, fur-trade post on, 201.
Sweden, king's title, 93.
Switzerland, Reformation in, 100.
Sydney, Thomas Townshend, lord, British statement, 152, 153, 157; letters, 157, 161; letters to, 157–61, 163; sketch, 155.
Symmes, John C., settles colony, 162.

Taney, Chief-Justice Roger, opinion, 137.
Tennessee (Cherokee) River, mouth as boundary, 173, 177.
Ternant, Jean B., French minister to United States, 174.
Territories, slavery in, 129, 133–38.
Thayendanegea. See Brant, Joseph.
Thomas, Elizabeth, suit for, 130, 131.
Three Rivers (Que.), native, 120.
Thwaites, Dr. Reuben G., aids excavation, 112; *Jesuit Relations*, 121.
Timmel family, emigrants, 104.
Title, given president, 97.
Toise, term defined, 198.
Tortue River. See Turtle River.
Townshend. See Sydney.
Tree (Arbres) River, tributary of Red, 208.
Trempealeau (Wis.), bluffs at, 114, 118; ancient fort near, 74, 111–23; residents, 74, 111.
Trempealeau Mountain, a landmark, 113, 118; post near, 119, 122, 123.
Trempealeau Prairie, topography, 118.

Trudeau, Jean Baptiste, exploring expedition of, 186, 187.
Trudeau, Zenon, Spanish governor, 193.
Trudeau's Ex's v. Robinette, cited, 126.
Truite Saumannée River. See Salmon Trout River.
Tullibee (Tuleebee), kind of fish, 205.
Turtle Mountains, as a watershed, 191.
Turtle (Tortue) River, tributary of Red, 209.
Tuscarora Indians, council with British, 177.

UNITED STATES, colonial precedents, 80; type of government, 76, 77, 79–81, 88, 89, 91, 95, 97; relations with England, 151–85; secures Louisiana, 188; departments: post office, 76; state, 74, 76, 77; treasury, 76; circuit courts, 135–37. See also Constitution, Congress, House of Representatives, Presidency, Senate, and Supreme Court.
Uttech family, emigrants, 104.

VANDALS, king of, 93.
Vanlandingham, —, owns slave, 130.
Vansky family, emigrants, 104.
Vaseure River. See Miry River.
Venango (Pa.), on boundary, 177.
Veto power, of president, 79, 81–83.
Vienna, Congress of, 99.
Virginia, plan for federal government, 81; devotion to Washington, 85; envoy of, 121; slavery in, 130; militia, 162.
Voight family, emigrants, 104.

WABASH River, portage from, 173.
Wagner family, emigrants, 104.
War, declaration of, in Congress, 82; effect of in United States, 88.
War of 1812, cause, 185; results, 94; veterans of, 143, 144.
Ward, Mrs. Humphrey, cited, 96.
Warren, J. P., "The Confederation and Shays Rebellion," cited, 160.
Washington, George, in French and Indian War, 121; commander-in-chief, 85; president of Constitutional Convention, 84; president of United States, 83, 84, 86, 95, 97; inauguration, 162; relation to patronage, 87; policy, 169; letters, 154, 173, 181; letters to, 163, 166, 173.
Washington (D. C.), resident, 90.
Washington, Fort, at Cincinnati, 162.
Washington Island, in Green Bay, 140, 149; accident near, 146, 147; church on, 150.
Watertown (Wis.), resident, 99; settlement at, 104, 105.
Wattasoon Indians, villages, 192, 196.
Wayne, Gen. Anthony, Indian campaign, 161, 182.
Wayne County (Ind.), Chicago in, 125.
Weimar (Germany), government, 99.
Wendes, king of, 93.
White (Blanche) River, tributary of Missouri, 194, 195.
Whitefish (Poisson Blanc) Point, on Lake Superior, 202.
Whyte, Dr. William F., sketch, 74; "Settlement of the Town of Lebanon," 99–110.
Wicked River. See Mauvaise River.
Wild cats, habitat, 200.
Wild Oat (Folle Avoine) River, tributary of the Mississippi, 206.
William I, emperor of Germany, 101.
Wilson, James, in Constitutional Convention, 85.
Wilson, Woodrow, president, 77.
Wilson v. Melvin, discussed, 133.
Winchell, N. H., archeologist, 112.
Winnebago Indians, habitat, 141; at French post, 121.
Winnipeg (Man.), site, 209.

Winnipeg (Ouinipeek, Ouinipique) River, affluents, 191, 201, 208; route via, 190, 200, 210.
Winny v. Whitesides, discussed, 133, 135.
Winona (Minn.), residents, 112.
Wisconsin, threshold of, 74, 140; Indians from, 106; French régime in, 111, 117–23, 140, 141; missions for Indians, 117, 121, 143, 144; territorial census, 143; first constitution rejected, 106; legislature, members, 104, 109, 110; Supreme Court, justice, 111; first lighthouse in, 143; German emigration to, 99–110; distribution of emigration in, 105; State Board of Health, 74.
Wisconsin (Ouisconsin) River, route via, 118, 120, 178, 179; portage to, 118; fort at mouth, 119, 122.
Woltmann, William, emigrant, 103–5.
Women Portage, on St. Louis River, 204.
Woodbury, Justice Levi, opinion, 132.
Woodfall, William, *Impartial Report of Debates*, cited, 152.
Woods (Du Bois), Lake of the, route via, 190.

Yale Review, cited, 156.
Yellowstone (Roches Jaunes) River, described by hearsay, 199.

Zimdars family, emigrants, 104.

S0-BTN-810